

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVI

AUGUST, 1886

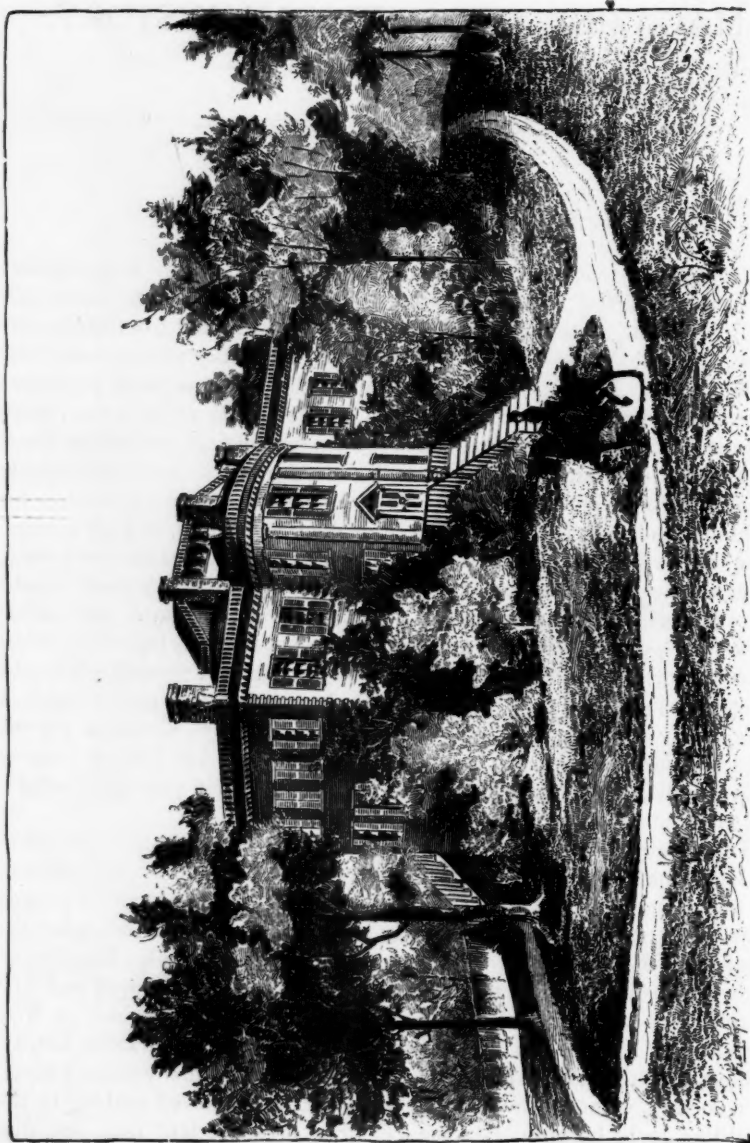
No. 2

MONTPELIER

HOME OF MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX

IN 1795 Major-General Henry Knox resigned his position in the cabinet of the President, and retired to private life in the State of Maine, taking up his abode on the beautiful estate his wife inherited from her grandfather, General Waldo—the only member of that family who espoused the patriot cause. This vast estate, together with the subsequent purchases of General Knox, embraced a tract of land some thirty miles square, lying between the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, now mainly covered by Knox and Waldo Counties. Knox soon had the property under good control, tenanted by a loving and enthusiastic people. He chose Thomaston for the homestead town; and in an exceptionally fine location, on high ground, he built his villa. A grand valley panorama view opened to the southward, through which a river coursed its zigzag way and terminated, with its mouth full of islands, in a silvery streak of ocean ten miles distant. The house was very large and of French architecture, with numerous balconies, broad verandas, corridors and alcoves in profusion—and it cost some \$50,000. All its interior decorations were of French design, and at that period excelled those of any other mansion in the commonwealth. Mrs. Knox gave it the name of "Montpelier," in compliment to a family of the French nobility at whose villa, "Montpelier," she and General Knox had once been delightfully entertained.

Two roomy wings, including several out-buildings, extended back from the Knox mansion; the servants' quarters, kitchen, laundry, etc., comprising one wing, and the stables and farm buildings the other. Terraced lawns, walks, summer-houses, orchards, and forest openings surrounded the premises to the water's edge, and helped to form a most pleasing picture. Knox was in the prime of life, only forty-five, when he improved and first occupied this lovely historic domain. His wife, familiarly known in New England as "Lady Knox," was of majestic figure and remarkable beauty, brilliant, talented, and well-informed, and had been for many years a favorite in society, without whom many, beside herself, believed nothing in the social line could be properly achieved. Her presence lent tone and dig-



MONTPELIER. HOME OF MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX, THOMASTON, MAINE.

From an original sketch by Mrs. C. A. Weston.

[Never before published.]



Knox

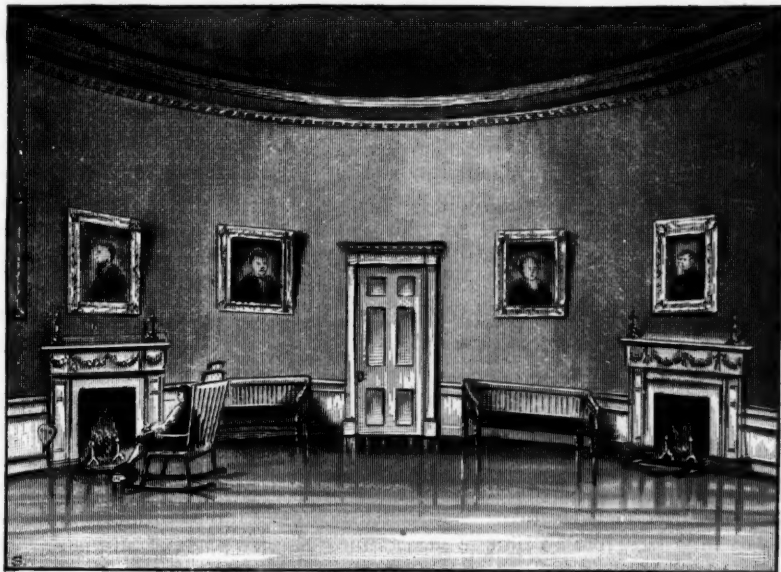
nity to every assemblage, and her vivacity was contagious. She had also been one of the heroines of the Revolution, and nearly as well known in camp as her husband. But her subsequent life in the country has not been as familiar to the world. Soon after she arrived with her family and retinue of servants at her new home "Montpelier," the towns-people were feasted at the mansion, after which the Tarrentines, their Indian neighbors, partook of their magnificent hospitality, prolonging their stay many days; but here Mrs. Knox's intercourse with her neighbors ended.

In many respects General and Mrs. Knox were well suited to each other, and lived in harmony. Yet some of their habits, traits, likes and dislikes were in direct opposition; though on points of this nature neither undertook dictatorship. There is but one known instance of the general's attempting conjugal discipline. He had invited a Puritan divine to dinner; and when the two gentlemen entered the dining-room, they found Lady Knox, who was not of a particularly religious turn of mind, seated at the table. Approaching her chair, her liege lord said: "Rise, my dear, the parson will ask a blessing." Lady Knox took no notice of the request, and the general repeated it, adding a flavoring of emphasis. Still she sat in unmoved stateliness. Then, raising his tone to something of a military command, he again repeated the request. But she remained complacently deaf, and the parson was obliged to pronounce his blessing while she occupied her seat. The meal then proceeded without further interruption, and no allusion was subsequently made to her lack of homage. Yet, with all his respect for religion and his interest in church-going, General Knox is said to have occasionally indulged in profanity. Authentic tradition tells us it was not of an offensive nature, but used only in cases of meditated provocation, where blasphemy seemed to him dignity. For instance, a backwoodsman disputed him about the number of logs furnished him at one time. Knox had ample proof of his own accuracy in the matter, yet the forester rather than acknowledge his error offered to take his oath upon the correctness of his own figures. Knox coolly replied, "Well, if you are willing to risk your immortal soul for four-and-sixpence, in the name of God do it."

The general was over-charitable, and blended geniality so thoroughly with charity that he almost placed himself on a level with the common folk. Mrs. Knox rarely tendered charity; and when she did, it was with such a cold hand and stony face that the recipient would starve in preference to accepting from her again. Knox loved to see every one prosperous and happy, and aided the country people in their enterprises, however unprofitable these seemed; at one time erecting a marble-mill over a stream of water too small to saw even one block of marble. Mrs. Knox, luckily perhaps for the family purse, was apparently ignorant of the existence of her common neighbors, even when she needed their services. On one occasion, when her carriage broke down, she remained standing unprotected in the muddy street rather than accept the hospitality proffered by them. This haughtiness, however, was accepted by the poorer classes as her unquestioned right; and, being aware of her aristocratic descent, they would have paid her less homage had she shown them more consideration. The awe in which they held her received its death-blow one day, however, when

during her husband's absence she had the graves of the frontier defenders—whose humble memorial stones in close proximity to her drawing-room windows had often given her uncomfortable suggestions of death—opened, and their remains placed in a more appropriate resting-place. The general had cherished a peculiar sentiment toward these sacred tombs, and tore his hair in deep mortification when he learned of this action on the part of his wife.

Still, the better part of the life of Mrs. Knox has not been portrayed in



OVAL ENTRANCE HALL OF THE KNOX MANSION, AT THOMASTON.

From an original sketch by Mrs. C. A. Weston.

the incidents mentioned. There was a mean between the two extremes of her position as leading society lady at the National Capital and as lady of rank among humble neighbors, in which she appeared in her truest light. This was in extending the hospitalities of "Montpelier." No one was better qualified than she to entertain guests of distinction both from our own and from foreign countries. Invitations were freely distributed during the summer months, and on the approach of winter the family migrated to Boston, where Mrs. Knox held unquestioned sway in gay society. Whist was one of her favorite pastimes, and she risked large sums of money in

the game, much to the distress of more staid matrons who dreaded the influence of that vivacious lady. Her journeyings to and from Boston were often made by land in her carriage, though the poorly-kept inns and miserable roads prompted her oftentimes to make the trip by water on board a coasting vessel. On occasions of this nature she would remain shut up in her carriage or her cabin the entire distance, holding no intercourse with any one save her family and servants, while Knox and the children enjoyed a freer life in the society of the captain and other passengers.

The reminiscences of these two personages must have been of the most interesting character. When the storm of revolution was brewing in our national sky Knox was but twenty-four years of age—a clever and dashing book-seller in Boston, his native city. His establishment was a favorite resort of cultivated persons, and his correspondence abroad was large and influential. He bent all this influence toward effecting an amicable understanding between the contending parties, and was so hopeful of success that he took no part in the "Tea Party," or other impulsive acts of resistance which engaged the patriot leaders at that time. His conduct was recognized abroad as neutrality; and consignments of tea were privately made to him soon afterward, which, with a great deal of unpleasantness and inconvenience, he eventually managed to return. He then laid aside the mask of argument and fearlessly adopted defensive measures.

Cupid and Mars simultaneously took him in rule at this time. His stately figure and handsome face had, when leading a military parade, attracted the attention of Miss Lucy Flucker, daughter of Hon. Thomas Flucker, secretary of the province under Governor Gage. The spirit of romance was as keen in the eighteenth as in the nineteenth century, and this young lady lost no time in ascertaining Knox's place of business. She entered one day under pretense of purchasing books, and the old, old, old story, never threadbare from repetition, was thus begun. The attachment was bitterly opposed by both families; political sentiment by the Knox relatives, and a similar objection, backed by a strong argument of wealth and aristocracy by the Fluckers, being the points of controversy. But the strong will of the young lady, seconded perhaps by an untamed love of adventure, acknowledged no opposition. She was married to Knox in June, 1774, and the patriot cause found no braver advocate than "Lady Knox," as she was even then styled. She concealed, with able craft, her husband's sword under her mantle, and they left Boston on foot in disguise. Knox was presently active in defending Concord; but his military prominence began at Bunker Hill, where, though but a private, his skill in planning

movements and constructing fortifications attracted the admiration of Washington, who soon afterward raised him to the chief command of the artillery, a post he held to the close of the war. He was henceforward Washington's confidential friend and adviser, sharing the gloom and depression of that great heart, and suggesting many able schemes of the war. How few, comparatively, are aware of the fact that it was a stroke of Knox's bravery that caused the British to withdraw from Boston. He realized that the feeble land force of patriots could have but trifling effect on the British shipping that rode comfortably in the bay, and with a picked company of brave men he dared the perils of the trackless northern forests in mid-winter, ravaged the forts on Canada's frontier, and returned, dragging on sleds the plunder, which Washington directly utilized, erecting for the purpose a grand pedestal on Dorchester Height. The captured artillery comprised eight brass mortars, six iron mortars, two howitzers, thirteen brass cannon, twenty-six iron cannon, twenty-three hundred-weight of lead, and one barrel of flint—a mine of wealth to our infant army. Little wonder after this marvelous act that writers give him credit for having manufactured his artillery. It was on this trip that he spent a night with André, and so strong an attachment sprung up between the two soldiers that it caused Knox a deep sense of anguish to pass sentence for André's execution a few years afterward.



FORMERLY THE SERVANTS' HOUSE OF THE KNOX VILLA.
Now the Railway Station. From a photograph.

The hasty retreat that followed the battle of Long Island came near being one of dire disaster to both our young artillery and our young artillery, yet by dint of celerity and consummate skill they escaped the British dragoons, and as a consequence Knox was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. A similar exhibition of military daring at Trenton—the only engagement in which Knox was wounded—and a few days later at Monmouth, the most severely contested battle of the war, won his promotion to the major-generalship, a rank second only to that of Washington. It is said that amid the din and roar of that battle his voice could be distinctly heard by his men, as he stood in their midst, a marvelous example of coolness that could not fail to inspire any faltering heart with courage. Yet his grandest military success was to come. At Yorktown the artillery, that never during the war had wavered, poured so steady and well-directed a volley as to occasion the highest commendation of all, even



MONOGRAM ON THE KNOX SILVERWARE.

the enemy, who rarely extended compliments of this nature. Washington, in acknowledgment, selected Knox to receive Cornwallis' sword at the surrender; but a moment's reflection caused him to suggest that public appreciation was due Lincoln for his bravery at the South, and Knox generously resigned the honor in favor of the latter.

The surrender of New York was also made to Knox, and following close in the tracks of this honor was the most painful duty he was ever required to perform—that of disbanding the army at West Point. Every officer and private had been to him a friend through eight gloomy years, and he must separate them and send them unpaid to their homes of poverty; for the pittance allowed them by Congress had not then been obtained. He bent all his powers of argument as earnestly to infuse into them a feeling of patient forbearance as he formerly had to inspire them with energy and fearlessness in battle. Never was a sympathetic heart more sorely tried, and never was a severe and serious duty more marvelously well performed.

The formation of the "Society of the Cincinnati" next occupied his mind, and to him is the credit mainly due that the brotherly love of these heroes was thus perpetuated.

Lady Knox seemed alone in her sentiments regarding the close of the war. She had followed her husband from place to place and from battle to battle, seeming to enjoy the excitement and deprivations of camp life, and actually felt annoyed when peace was declared, and they were obliged to break camp and make ready for private life. Her subsequent career,

however, was not destined to be one of light import or devoid of distinction. Knox was very soon appointed Secretary of War, in 1785, holding the office nine years, and Mrs. Knox was ere long almost indispensable to Mrs. Washington in doing the social honors that naturally devolve upon the leading lady of a nation.

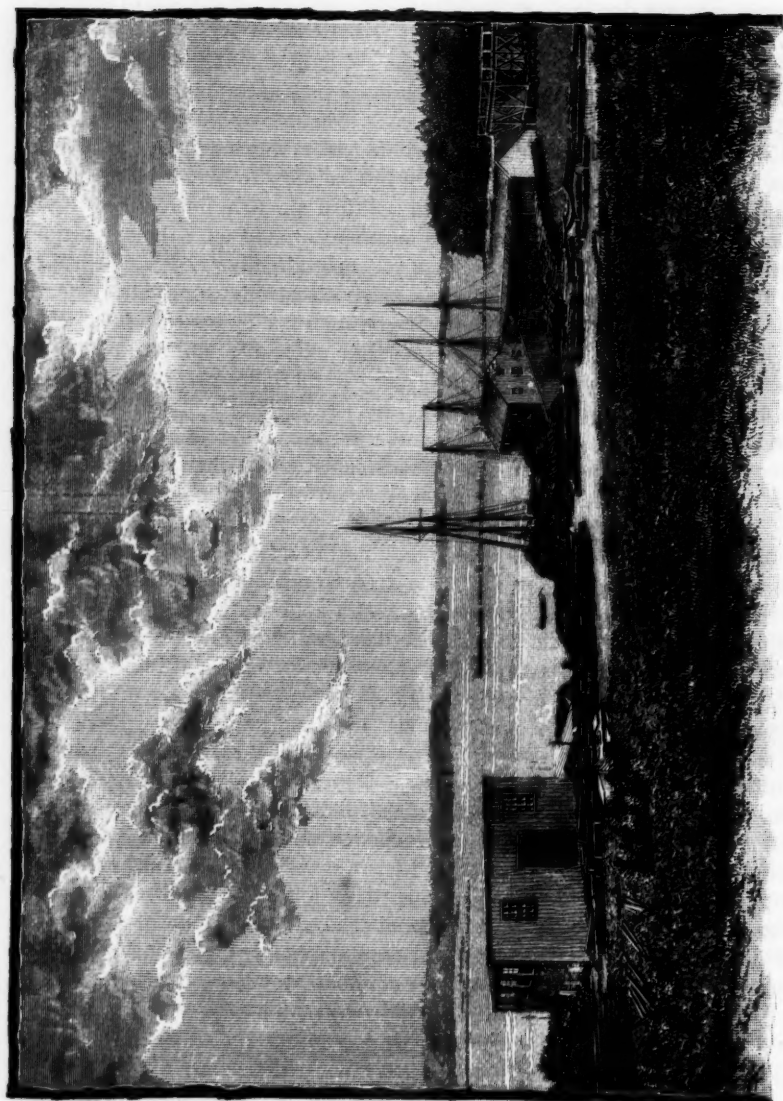
Knox was as unsuccessful at financiering as he was ingenuous at laying plans, and he was painfully conscious of his inability to overcome the misfortune. At one time, while he was in political office, he introduced a bill before the Legislature, and requested another party to offer the resolution for the required appropriation, saying, "People already say I would bankrupt the nation." This weakness was more disastrous in private than in public affairs. His financial decline began with his Thomaston-life. His business enterprises were both numerous and extensive, and his overtures to settlers too liberally extended to insure careful industry in return. He even bought parcels of his own land from the squatters in order to send them away in peace. He published advertisements extolling the country and offering favorable terms to new-comers; established stores of all kinds, markets, brick-yards, lime-kilns, etc., and built wharfs and ships, besides paying no little attention to the clearing of the forests and tilling of the soil. He filled a seat in the council board of the State, and was at one time talked of for governor. Cattle and game raising also interested him, but in all these schemes he reckoned without his host.

Soon a volley of unpaid bills of merchandise, labor, etc., growing out of his enormous business attempts and expensive mode of entertaining, was hurled at him, and piece by piece of his estate was transferred, greatly under value, to meet these demands. One after another of his well-planned but half-completed undertakings were passed over to creditors, and he found his fortunes on a steady decline. Nevertheless, the handsome and generous style of living was maintained until his death, in 1806, from inflammation caused by swallowing a chicken-bone. His funeral was conducted under military regulations and was imposing in the extreme for so quiet a town. His remains were placed in a family tomb which Lady Knox had constructed on the spot from which, a few years previous, she had had the graves of the early settlers removed. A grey marble shaft, bearing the simple inscription and the couplet,

"'Tis Fate's decree ; farewell, thy just renown,
The Hero's honor and the good man's crown,"

was erected over the tomb.

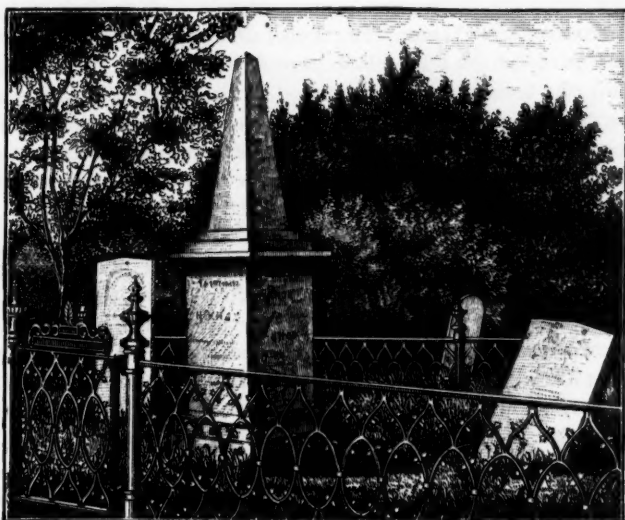
General Henry Jackson, a warm friend of Knox, visited here soon after the burial, and sat by the tomb of his former comrade until far into



PRESENT RIVER FRONT OF MONTPELIER. THE KNOX VILLA. [*From a Photograph.*]

the evening, when a country neighbor, passing, mistook him for the ghost of Knox and directly knelt, terrified, into prayer. The mistake was explained, but Jackson found it impossible to recover the thread of his meditation.

After the death of her husband, Lady Knox seemed to lose favor and influence in the estimation of many whose interest had really been in behalf of her noble-hearted husband rather than of herself. She terminated her annual visits to Boston, and remained quietly at home, striving to keep up former appearances with her extremely reduced income. One by one the out-buildings were sold and removed, building sites and town streets were laid out from the immediate grounds, private drives were constructed into public thoroughfares, and inroads were made upon every foot of the property save the mansion itself, one small stable, and the servants' house—the two latter yet in ex-



PRESENT BURIAL-PLACE OF THE KNOX FAMILY.

[From a Photograph.]

istence on the premises. In July, 1824, she died after a short but acute illness. Her two surviving daughters remained in possession of the mansion, striving with utmost economy to keep it in at nearly its former order as decay and poverty would allow. In 1854 the last of the children died and the spacious residence was left worse than a tomb. The will provided no fund for the management of the estate, but an annuity was allowed the executor by the other heirs, with the expectation that he would keep the house with what remained in it; yet, before the towns-people were fully aware of the movement, an auction sale was announced, and the richly carved furnishings, books, etc., sold to the clamorous public.

A little later a lot was purchased in an undesirable corner of the town cemetery, whither the precious remains were transferred from the family tomb: General and Mrs. Knox, with their children who died young, being placed in one and the same grave, and the others in separate graves. The gray marble shaft that formerly guarded the entrance to the tomb stands at the head of the large grave, and plain slabs at the others. The lot is inclosed with an iron fence, now tumble-down and neglected. The towns-people rightly considered this a disgrace to them as well as to the Knox descendants, and wrote to the executor of the will for permission to remove the bodies to a prominent place in the park and place a suitable monument over them. The reply, although a refusal, shows that his action in regard to the burial had been a hasty one. He mentions the repugnance he feels at another removal of the honored remains, and his veneration for the monument Mrs. Knox had selected to mark her husband's last resting-place; and also speaks, in warm appreciation, of the interest and kindness of the Thomaston people in wishing "to perpetuate the memory of a man who gave all the energies of his early life to the great cause of establishing for us this model Republic, and his latter days to the interests of the town which he selected before all others as his home."

The old Knox mansion remained a striking land-mark until about the year 1868. The construction of the Knox and Lincoln Railroad necessitated its removal, as the line of the road was laid diagonally across its site; the servants' house has been utilized as the railroad station, and the solitary stable has been converted into a grave-stone manufactory. The grounds are but a mere waste save the river border, which is occupied by a cluster of petty manufactories.

The prompt, active part taken by Knox in the Revolution, his valuable services for the nation after the close of the war, and his useful life as a citizen when his public career ended, will ever be gratefully remembered by all New England people. The visitor to Thomaston will find streets and public institutions bearing his name, and will observe how the enthusiasm and reverence of a grateful people bursts forth into well-merited praise. Our recruits for the late war marched under a banner bearing the words, "From the Home of Knox."

C. Margaret Lundy

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

ITS ORDINANCE AND ITS SETTLEMENT

On the 7th of April, 1888, a century will be completed since the first colony was planted on the first territory belonging to the United States. The causes which led to the establishment of that colony, the territory on which it was planted, and the ordinance of the Continental Congress for the government of the territory, form the subject of this paper.

The ordinance of 1787 is regarded as one of the wisest and most remarkable of the enactments of the Continental Congress. The territory for the government of which it was enacted was a conspicuous feature in our early history, regarded with great interest by European as well as American States. The settlement of that territory, made in 1788, was remarkable in many respects, and especially noteworthy for its intimate connection with the ordinance of 1787, and the preparation which had been made for it through a series of years.

The establishment, in a great territory inhabited only by savage tribes, of a colony carrying with it the institutions of civilized and Christian society was in itself an important event. But this was not a fortuitous migration, but the carrying out of a long-contemplated plan. For years events had been shaping themselves with reference to this settlement. No single decade in the history of the United States is so full of important events as that of which the present is the centennial—the decade from 1780 to 1790. And nearly all those events were directly connected with the North-west territory and its settlement. Besides the questions of the war, the providing of ways and means for carrying on the struggle for independence, the attention of our public men was largely occupied with the territory west of the Alleghenies, and especially that north-west of the river Ohio. As the probabilities of a successful termination of the war with England became stronger, the agitation of the question of title to this region became more earnest. Four States laid claim to it, in whole or in part, while others insisted that it belonged to the nation itself. Maryland, especially, was strenuous in her opposition to these State claims, and because of them she had declined to ratify the Articles of Confederation. Congress could not well decide between the claimants,

but urged them all to make cessions to the United States. Early in September, 1780, on a report of a committee to whom had been referred the instructions of Maryland to her delegates, the remonstrance of Virginia and the action of New York, pressed the importance of a surrender of these claims, which were endangering the stability of the general Confederacy. This was followed, on the 10th of October, by the important resolution: "That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular State shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which shall become members of the federal union."

New York was the first State to cede her claim. Though not based, like those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia, upon a colonial grant or charter, her claim seems to have been regarded by the Committee of Congress, to whom the various claims had been referred for examination, as not inferior, at least, to either of the others. The cession of New York was not only the first, it was also made without any reservation. And on the same day that the delegates of New York executed their deed of cession, those of Maryland signed the Articles of Confederation, thus completing the Federal Union. Knowing how inefficient these articles proved as a constitution of government, we do not now attach to them any high value, but we must not forget that they constituted the symbol of union; and thus their ratification by Maryland as the thirteenth State was a most important act, and brought a great feeling of relief to the country.

Maryland seemed to assume that the example of New York would be followed by the other States having claims, in which she was not disappointed, though there was some delay, and all the cessions were not, like hers, without reservation. Had they insisted on their claims, the union, such as it was, must have been broken to pieces. The question at issue concerned the ownership of the North-west Territory. We are greatly indebted to Maryland for the firmness with which she maintained her position that the territory won by the blood and treasure of the common country was by right the property of the United States as a whole; and we are also indebted to those States which, having, as they believed, rightful claims, were willing to relinquish them for the common good.

But there was a further question of ownership of the same region. The war was not yet over. The battle of Yorktown had not been fought. And even when England became satisfied that she must let her colonies go, there still remained the question of boundary. Next to her unwilling-

ness to acknowledge our independence was her unwillingness to yield any territory north-west of the Ohio. Congress wanted the forty-fifth parallel of latitude as the dividing line; England insisted on the Ohio River. France had aided us in our struggle for independence, but in the matter of boundary she was on the side of England. So, too, was Spain; and, as treaties were to be made between England and these two powers, as well as between her and the United States, all involving questions of territory, the matter was not a little complicated. To add to the difficulty, Congress had instructed the American commissioners to consult the French Court as to the provisions of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Mr. Jay, becoming convinced that the French minister was not acting in good faith, addressed himself directly to the English commissioner, and thus a provisional treaty was agreed on without the knowledge of France. The American commissioners felt themselves justified, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, in departing from their instructions, though they have been severely criticised for it by some of their own countrymen, and it has often been asserted that their suspicions of the French minister were without foundation. Recently documents have been brought to light which go far to justify them in what they did.

In the midst of the negotiations a change of administration took place in consequence of the death of the Marquis of Rochester. The new prime minister, Lord Shelburne, though he had been opposed to the passage of the Stamp Act, was strongly averse to the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. So strong was his opposition that he declared in Parliament after he became prime minister that, in his opinion, "whenever Parliament should acknowledge the independence of America, the sun of England's glory was set forever." With the British prime minister holding such views, and with France and Spain unwilling that the United States should hold any territory north of the Ohio, it is remarkable that our commissioners succeeded in making the St. Lawrence and the lakes the dividing line instead of the Ohio River.

The provisional treaty between the United States and Great Britain was signed November 30, 1782, but was not to take effect till peace should be concluded between France and Great Britain. This was done a little later, the provisional treaty between these two powers being signed January 20, 1783; as also on the same day one between Spain and Great Britain. On the 3d of September following definitive treaties were concluded between Great Britain and the other three powers.

After it was settled by the three provisional treaties that England, France, and Spain would relinquish to the United States all claim to the

territory lying between the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the great lakes, a most important movement was made to plant there a colony. The Continental Congress as early as 1776 had appropriated lands as bounties for officers and soldiers who should serve during the war. Before the army had been disbanded and while yet in camp at Newburgh, two hundred and eighty-eight officers signed a petition to Congress asking that the bounty lands to which they were entitled might be located between the river Ohio and Lake Erie. They speak of this tract as "of sufficient extent, the land of such quality and situation as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a tract or territory to form a distinct government, in time to be admitted one of the Confederate States of America." General Rufus Putnam placed this petition, with a long and able letter, in the hands of General Washington to be laid before Congress. This petition, with the letter of General Putnam, as also the letter of General Washington to the President of Congress, will be referred to again. Though the commander-in-chief strongly urged the granting of this petition, Congress declined doing it; partly, perhaps, because the conditional cession by Virginia of her claim to the territory had not been accepted. Looking back after the lapse of a hundred years, we see that the delay of a few years in the planting of that colony was wisely ordered by Him who shapes the course of human events.

On the 1st of March, 1784, the delegates in Congress from Virginia, in pursuance of an act of the Legislature of that State, passed October 20, 1783, executed a deed of cession of the right of that commonwealth to the territory north west of the river Ohio. This cession made two reservations—one reserving for "the Virginia troops upon continental establishment" the land between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, and the other granting 150,000 acres for George Rogers Clarke and his officers and men. The two States with the largest claims to the Western territory—New York and Virginia—having now made cessions satisfactory to Congress, a committee was appointed to report a plan for the government of that territory. This committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, reported a plan, which after recommitment and subsequent amendments, was passed on the 23d of April. As reported by the committee, the resolution contained this paragraph: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty." This clause was stricken out before the passage of the resolution.

This resolution of 1784 is often confounded with the ordinance of 1787, and Mr. Jefferson is spoken of as the author of that ordinance. But two weeks after the passage of the resolution of 1784 he was elected minister plenipotentiary for negotiating treaties with foreign powers and immediately went abroad. His return to this country did not take place till late in November, 1789.

The plan for a temporary government of the Western territory, adopted in 1784, never went into effect, though it remained on the statute-book till repealed by the ordinance of 1787. But in 1785 Congress passed an ordinance affecting that territory which went immediately into operation, and which, in all its most important features, is still in force—the “ordinance for ascertaining the Mode of disposing of Lands in the Western Territory,” passed on the 20th of May. It provided for a rectangular system of surveys, dividing the public domain into ranges, townships, and sections, the boundaries being all in the direction of the cardinal points of the compass, so that a locality is designated by its distance east or west from a given meridian, and north or south of a given parallel, as a ship’s place at sea by its longitude and latitude. The starting-point was at the place of intersection of the west line of Pennsylvania with the north bank of the Ohio River. From this point a line drawn west forty-two miles was to form the base for the first seven ranges, from which at the six-mile points lines were to be run south to the Ohio River. This great system of surveys thus inaugurated has been applied to all the public domain, and through its simplicity and exactness of description has proved of incalculable value to all who have become owners of the soil.

In this year, 1785, Massachusetts made a cession of the territory claimed by her. Her delegates in Congress executed the deed April 19, conveying all her right and title to the territory within the limits of her charter lying west of the west line of New York; that is, west of a meridian drawn “through the westerly bent or inclination of Lake Ontario.”

Connecticut, in September, 1786, followed the example of the other States that had made cessions; though in the matter of reservation she followed in the steps of Virginia and not in those of New York and Massachusetts. She reserved a belt on the south shore of Lake Erie, one hundred and twenty miles long by an average of fifty miles wide, and called in early times New Connecticut, and still known as the Western Reserve. The reservations of both Virginia and Connecticut thus came from what is now the State of Ohio. Unfortunately, the system of surveys established by the ordinance of 1785 could not be applied to these reservations, which were laid off by the States claiming them. On the Reserve the townships

are five miles square instead of six, and in the Virginia military district ranges, townships, and sections are all unknown, the boundary lines running in all directions and the tracts being of all conceivable forms of irregularity.

Earlier in the year 1786, an event occurred whose bearing on the Western Territory was direct and most potent—the formation of the “Ohio Company of Associates.” The petition of a large number of officers of the army in 1783 that they might locate their bounty lands between Lake Erie and the Ohio had been unsuccessful. But the officer who was foremost in that effort had not relinquished the idea of a colony in that western region. The land ordinance of 1785 provided for one surveyor from each State to be elected by Congress on the nomination of the delegates from the State. Rufus Putnam was elected surveyor from Massachusetts, but being unable to go, he requested that General Benjamin Tupper might be appointed temporarily in his place. This was done, and Mr. Tupper went out in the summer of that year, but on account of the Indians nothing could be done. The following winter these two officers, after careful conference, called a meeting of revolutionary officers, with reference to the formation of a company to make a settlement on the Ohio. The meeting was held in Boston, March 1, 1786, delegates being present from eight counties of Massachusetts. General Putnam was the president of the meeting and the chairman of the committee to prepare the articles of association. Thus was formed the Ohio Company. The first directors were General Rufus Putnam, General Samuel H. Parsons, and Rev. Manasseh Cutler. Subsequently, General James M. Varnum, a member of the Continental Congress, was added to the number.

The plan was to purchase of Congress a large tract of land on which they might found a colony as a nucleus of a new State. The broad views which pervaded the petition of the officers of the army in 1783, and which appeared in Putnam's letter to Washington, animated the men who formed this company in 1786. In one sense it was a private enterprise, as each shareholder paid for his share from his private funds; but it was also in a measure a public enterprise, representing, on the one hand, the veterans of the army, whose private fortunes had been wasted by the long war for independence, and, on the other, the statesmen and patriots of the country, who were anxious to see a new empire founded in the western region, which, after the long struggle with individual States at home and Great Britain abroad, was now in the peaceable possession of the United States.

As the purchase by these Ohio Associates is inseparably connected with the great ordinance of 1787, it is necessary to refer again to the plan

for a temporary government of the western country, adopted in 1784, and what preceded and followed it. That action of 1784, though the first taken formally by Congress, was not the first consideration given to the subject. As has been seen, the question of ownership was early agitated. The Articles of Confederation were agreed to in Congress, in November, 1777, but before that time efforts were made to include in the powers of Congress that of ascertaining and fixing the western boundary of such States as claim to the Mississippi or South Sea, and of laying out the land beyond the boundary into separate and independent States. Maryland took the lead in such efforts, and sometimes her vote was the only one in favor of the proposed measure. But the idea of a public domain was getting hold of the minds of the statesmen of that period. The representation by New Jersey, in June, 1778, that "the boundaries and limits of each State ought to be fully and finally fixed and made known," indicated the objection there entertained.

The action of October 10, 1780, as already stated, declared explicitly that any lands ceded to the United States should be disposed of for the common benefit, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which should become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights as the other States; that each should contain not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty square miles. Virginia incorporated in her act of cession this congressional action of October 10, giving the dimensions of the proposed States.

One of the clearest statements of the relation of the United States to new territory is contained in the preamble to a resolution introduced on the 13th of September, 1783, by a delegate from Maryland: "Whereas the United States have succeeded to the Sovereignty over the Western Territory, and are thereby vested as one undivided and independent nation with all and every power and right exercised by the King of Great Britain over the said territory, or the lands lying and situated without the boundaries of the several States, etc., therefore Resolved."

The subject of the new territory was much in men's thoughts, and various efforts were made in Congress to alter some of the provisions of the plan for a temporary government passed April 23, 1784. That plan allowed slavery till 1800, but prohibited it after that time. Mr. King, of Massachusetts, moved and Mr. Grayson, of Virginia, seconded to refer the question of immediate prohibition, and the motion to refer was carried. On motion of Mr. Grayson, seconded by Mr. King, it was resolved, "That the navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same be declared to be common

highways, and be forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the Confederation, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor."

Efforts were made to repeal that part of the plan which provided limits for the new States by lines of latitude and longitude, and to induce Virginia to modify her act of cession which required the new States to contain not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty square miles. Mr. Grayson proposed to divide the whole into five States, with boundaries which are almost exactly identical with those of the present five States. It was decided, however, to provide for a division into a number not less than three nor more than five.

The committee on the territory, which had been appointed early in 1786, had undergone some changes in its members, but at the close of that Congress, November 3, it consisted of Messrs. Johnson, Pinckney, Smith, Dane, and Henry. The new Congress, which should have been organized Monday, November 6, had no quorum till February 2, 1787, when General Arthur St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, was elected president. On the 9th of May, according to the journal, "Congress proceeded to the second reading of the ordinance for the government of the Western territory," and after some amendments had been made it was "Ordered that it be transcribed and that Thursday next be assigned for the third reading." That Thursday was the next day, the 10th of May. The third reading did not take place. Mr. Bancroft, after stating that the ordinance was ordered on the 9th of May, to be transcribed and made the order of the next day, says, "of a sudden the further progress of the ordinance was arrested." What arrested it? It was an application from that Company of Associates which had been formed in Massachusetts, in the spring of 1786, to purchase a tract of land in the Ohio Valley. That company had perfected its organization and had been obtaining subscribers, and now they sent one of their directors to New York to make the purchase from Congress. This agent was General Samuel H. Parsons, of Connecticut, an officer of the Revolution. It happened that on the very day when the ordinance for the government of the Western Territory was ordered to its third reading for the morrow, General Parsons appeared with his application. It was this which "arrested the further progress of the ordinance."

In the language of Mr. Bancroft: "It interested every one. For vague hopes of colonization here stood a hardy band of pioneers, ready to lead the way to the rapid absorption of the domestic debt of the United States; selected from the choicest regiments of the army; capable of self-defence;

the protectors of all who should follow them; men skilled in the labors of the field and artisans; enterprising and laborious; trained in the severe morality and strict orthodoxy of the New England villages of that day. All was changed. There was the same difference as between sending out recruiting officers and giving marching orders to a regular corps present with music and arms and banners. On the instant, the memorial was referred to a committee, consisting of Edward Carrington, Rufus King, Nathan Dane, Madison, and Egbert Benson—a great committee; its older members of Congress having worthy associates in Carrington and Benson, of whom nothing was spoken, but in praise of their faultless integrity and rightness of intention.”

The third reading of the proposed ordinance did not take place on the 10th of May, as had been ordered, nor on the 11th. Indeed, it was never read the third time. After the 11th there was no quorum till the 4th of July. This may have been owing to the fact that some of the members of Congress were members also of the Constitutional Convention, which convened at Philadelphia in May. On the 5th of July, there was again no quorum in Congress, and that evening, Rev. Manasseh Cutler, a director of the Ohio Company, came to New York to follow up the memorial which had been presented in May by General Parsons, and which arrested the progress of the proposed ordinance. Two or three days after Mr. Cutler's arrival, a new committee on an ordinance for the government of the Western Territory was appointed. It consisted of Edward Carrington, R. H. Lee, Mr. Dane, Mr. Kean, and Mr. Smith. Mr. Dane and Mr. Smith were on the former committee, but the other three, two from Virginia and one from South Carolina, were new men; and Mr. Carrington, a new member, was the chairman. Mr. Carrington, it will be remembered, was the chairman of the committee appointed on the 9th of May, to whom was referred the memorial of the Ohio Company. This new committee two days after their appointment reported a new ordinance, which was read the first time on that day—the 11th—read the second time on the 12th, and on the 13th was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. Bancroft, in his *History of the Constitution*, devotes a chapter to this ordinance of 1787, and the purchase by the Ohio Company of a large tract of land in the valley of the Ohio. The chapter opens thus: “Before the federal convention had referred its resolutions to a committee of detail, an interlude in Congress was shaping the character and destiny of the United States of America. Sublime and humane and eventful in the history of mankind as was the result, it will not take many words to tell how it was brought about. For a time wisdom and peace and justice

dwelt among men, and the great ordinance, which could alone give continuance to the Union, came in serenity and stillness. Every man that had a share in it seemed to be led by an invisible hand to do just what was wanted of him; all that was wrongfully undertaken fell to the ground to wither by the wayside; whatever was needed for the happy completion of the mighty work arrived opportunely, and just at the right moment moved into its place." Many eulogiums on the ordinance of 1787 have been pronounced by Webster, and others standing in the front rank of statesmen, but nothing concerning it has ever been penned finer, stronger, truer, than these eloquent words of our great historian.

How it came to pass that an ordinance to which such strong language can be truthfully applied should have been drawn up and passed within four days from the appointment of the committee, and with entire unanimity by the States present, has ever been a cause of surprise. Remember that the enactment of the great ordinance making the Ohio River a barrier to slavery was the work of the South. Of the eight States there present, five were Southern, three Northern. Three years before, a proposition to allow slavery in the territory till the year 1800, with a prohibition after that time, was stricken out from the plan as reported; now an absolute and immediate prohibition receives the vote of every State present, Southern as well as Northern; and of the individual members, every one said "Ay" except Abraham Yates, of New York.

And yet the case is not incomprehensible. A director and agent of a company made up of officers and soldiers presents himself before Congress, wishing to purchase land in the West on which they could found a colony. Accustomed to good government at home, they must know what would be their government beyond the Ohio. Give them a good ordinance under which to live, and they were ready to go. Nothing could be more natural—nothing more reasonable; and no man in the United States could present the case in terms more clear or more forcible than this Massachusetts clergyman. Manasseh Cutler was a remarkable man, with extraordinary powers of persuasion and great knowledge of men. It was doubtless at his suggestion that Mr. Grayson, his personal friend, the temporary chairman of Congress, appointed on the Ordinance Committee three new men, all from the South. They were wise men, and they saw the wisdom of Mr. Cutler's representations. They gathered up all that was valuable in the previous action of Congress on the Western territory, and they added such new matter as Mr. Cutler showed them would be conducive to the best interests of all who should make the West their home, and be acceptable to those who proposed to lead the way.

Certain it is that the planting of the colony and the passage of the ordinance could not have been separated. They must stand or fall together. Had no memorial come to Congress from the Ohio Company, the ordinance which was read the second time on the 9th of May would doubtless have been passed in the crude state in which it then was, and the great ordinance of July 13 would not have seen the light. The establishment of the colony at the mouth of the Muskingum in April, 1788, was thus intimately connected with the best work of the Continental Congress. From the year of the declaration of independence the Western territory, its government, its settlement, had been prominently before the public. From 1776 to 1788 preparations had been making, plans maturing, to found a new empire beyond the Ohio. The landing of Rufus Putnam and his associates at Marietta on the 7th of April, 1788, was the outward and visible completion of what had hitherto existed in men's thoughts. The new territory, the title to which the United States had struggled for, both with the great States of her own Confederacy and with powerful nations abroad, was now taken possession of in her name by the choicest of her own citizens, the bravest of her own army. Men who had helped England to wrest that very country from France in the French and Indian war, and who had afterward, with the aid of France, reconquered it from England, now go to make it their home; ready, if the necessity should come, as come it did, to take up arms once more to defend it, and with it the border States themselves, from the Indians, who had been our foes in both the previous wars.

This settlement was made by the same officers who had petitioned Congress when in camp at Newburgh in 1783. A committee of Congress in 1792, to whom had been referred a memorial of the Ohio Company, thus connects the two movements: "The Ohio Company of Associates had its foundation in an application to the United States, in Congress assembled, by the officers of the late army." And the report of the committee embodies the petition, the letter of General Putnam to General Washington accompanying the petition, the letter of General Washington to the President of Congress, and the contract of the Ohio Company with Congress, dated October 27, 1787. The petitioners in 1783 ask that the lands voted to them may be located between Lake Erie and the Ohio, where they hope to "form a distinct government." They pray also "that provision may be made for a further grant of lands to such of the army as may wish to become adventurers in the new government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchase for public securities as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequence to the American *empire*."

General Putnam, in his letter to Washington, outlines a plan for "making such arrangements of garrisons in the western quarter as shall give efficient protection to the settlers and encourage emigration to the new government." The letter concludes thus: "The probability is that the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio will be filled with inhabitants, and the faithful subjects of these United States so established on the waters of the Ohio and the lakes as to banish forever the idea of our Western territory falling under the dominion of any European power; the frontiers of the old States will be effectually secured from savage alarms, and the new will have little to fear from their insults."

Very similar in tenor is the language of Washington in his letter to the President of Congress: "It appears to me that this is the tract which, from its local position and peculiar advantages, ought to be first settled in preference to any other whatever; and I am perfectly convinced that it cannot be so advantageously settled by any other class of men as by the disbanded officers and soldiers of the army. . . . This plan of colonization would connect our governments with the frontiers, extend our settlements progressively, and plant a brave, a hardy and respectable race of people as our advanced post, who would be always ready and willing (in case of hostility) to combat the savages and check their incursions."

What is here said of the projected colony of 1783 was equally true of the actual colony of 1788. Both originated with the officers of the Revolutionary army, and had the same general objects of founding new States and extending the American empire. Of the colony of 1788 Washington, writing in June of that year, says: "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, strength, will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." A few months before he had written to Lafayette: "A spirit of emigration to the Western country is very predominant. Congress has sold in the year past a pretty large quantity of lands on the Ohio for public securities, and thereby diminished the public debt considerably. Many of your military acquaintances, such as Generals Parsons, Varnum, Putnam, Colonels Tupper, Sproat, and Sherman, with many more, propose settling there. From such beginnings much may be expected."

The colony was referred to in the correspondence of many public men of that time. Frequent mention of it was made in the letters to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. It was regarded as an event of national interest.

The ordinance and the colony were the work of the Continental Congress and the veterans of the army. To them is due the great North-west as it is to-day, with its millions of inhabitants, its wealth, its civilization. When the ordinance of 1787 was passed there was no American citizen resident there. Those who crossed the Ohio in 1788 entered a new region. The first State formed from new territory was Ohio. Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, had all been parts of the old thirteen States. Their populations were numbered by thousands before the ordinance was passed. But the settlement on the north bank of the Ohio was the taking possession by the government of an uninhabited region—a region on which public interest had centered from the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, and which had been wrested from England only by the highest valor in the field and the most persistent firmness in the Cabinet. The very application to Congress by the proposed settlers was an epoch. So great was the faith reposed in them, and of so great public importance was the planting of a suitable colony deemed to be, that Congress at once responded to their wishes, both as to the purchase and to the government of the territory. The United States, in Congress assembled, sent them forth to their new home with a national blessing. Congress took their own president and made him the governor, and appointed as judges two generals of the Revolution; and this before a single emigrant had started on his journey. No other territory of the United States has been settled under such auspices; no other colony has excited so general an interest.*

It was this proposed purchase and settlement that developed in our public men higher and truer views of national government. When Mr. Carroll, of Maryland, and Mr. Read, of South Carolina, endeavored years before to incorporate into the plan of government of the Western Territory, the declaration that it should be governed by magistrates appointed by Congress, that body was not ready for it. But the ordinance of 1787 shows no such timidity. The governor, the secretary, the judges were all to be appointed by Congress. The direct authority of the United States over the territory pervades the whole ordinance.

The Congressional Act of May 20, 1785, for the disposal of the public

* Among the many eminent men who were members of the Ohio Company were Governors James Bowdoin, Caleb Strong, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, the latter also Vice-President of the United States; Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island; Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut; Samuel Dexter, United States Senator from Massachusetts and Secretary of the Treasury; Uriah Tracy, United States Senator from Connecticut; Ebenezer Hazzard, Postmaster-General under the Continental Congress; Brockholst Livingston, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, the first Secretary of War; President Joseph Willard, of Harvard College.

lands, admirable as it is in most of its features, shows the same hesitancy as to the power of the United States. The lands are to be surveyed by surveyors chosen one for every State; the delegation of the State nominating and Congress electing by ballot. And when seven ranges had been surveyed, the lands were to be divided among the States by lot according to their several quotas, and the sales were to be made by the loan commissioners of the respective States, and these State Commissioners were to sign the deeds. But when the Ohio Company came with an offer to purchase they asked for a million and a half of acres in a body, to be conveyed to them by the United States. The land ordinance of 1785, directing sales to be made through the loan commissioners of the States was still in force, but Congress set it aside when they directed the Board of Treasury to "take order" in accordance with the proposition of the Ohio Company. And that contract for the sale—the first ever made by our government—the parchment original of which finds fitting place in the library of the College at Marietta, bears the signature of no loan commissioner of a State, but the names of Samuel Osgood and Arthur Lee, of the Board of Treasury of the United States.

At the annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, on the 19th of February last, a memorial was addressed to the General Assembly of Ohio, asking that action be taken with reference to a suitable commemoration at Marietta, on the 7th of April, 1888, of the settlement of the North-west Territory, April 7, 1788. The General Assembly, by a unanimous vote in each House, asked their Senators and Representatives to endeavor to secure Congressional action for the erection of a suitable monumental structure commemorative of the ordinance and settlement.

The American Historical Association, at its recent annual meeting in the city of Washington, during the last week in April, adopted the following expressions of cordial interest in the movement: Recognizing the fact that the acquisition of the Territory north-west of the Ohio was of the greatest consequence to the growth and development of the United States, and being informed of a purpose to celebrate at Marietta, in 1888, the centennial of the first settlement in that territory, perceive that purpose to be a proper recognition of the beginning of what has become one of the most important divisions of the American Union.

This sketch of the North-west Territory, its ordinance of 1787, and its settlement of 1788, has furnished reasons, it is hoped, why the centennial of that settlement should be regarded as of more than local importance. Years ago it was said of the ordinance by Mr. Chase, the statesman and

jurist, "Never, probably, in the history of the world, did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfill, and yet so mightily exceed, the anticipations of the legislators." If the purchase, the ordinance, and the settlement were largely instrumental in "shaping the character and destiny of the United States," the coming centennial is worthy of a national commemoration. We have seen how profound was the interest with which Washington and the patriots of his time regarded this settlement of the territory, and how great were the expectations which they entertained of it; the five great States of which that settlement was the germ and the beginning show whether those expectations have been fulfilled.

Israel Ward Andrews.

MARIETTA COLLEGE, OHIO

CONVENTION OF NEW YORK, 1788

In the Convention of New York, after the preliminaries of order were settled, debate was opened by Livingston the Chancellor. He directed attention to the fact, that throughout the United States one language was spoken, one religion professed, and one political principle recognized—that all power is derived from the people. “It must be of little moment to the people how much of that power they vest in a State government, and how much in the councils of the Union.” “Our situation admits of a Union and our distresses point out its necessity. Our existence as a State depends on a strong and efficient federal government. The State has great natural advantages from its valuable and abundant staples, the situation of its principal sea-port, from the command of the commerce of New Jersey by the river discharging in its bay, from the facility of intercourse with the Eastern States by the Sound, from the Hudson bearing on its bosom the wealth of the remote parts of the State. A lasting peace affords a prospect of its commanding the treasures of the West by the improvement of its internal navigation. The domestic debt of the Union is light; the back lands will pay the foreign debt, if a government vigorous enough to avail of that resource is adopted. For that government, imports, at no distant day, will be sufficient, and taxation will only be needed for internal government. But the State has disadvantages, in the detached situation of its ports, particularly Staten Island and Long Island, in the vicinity of States, which, in case of disunion, would be independent, and might be hostile. To the north-east, Vermont, a State with a brave and hardy people whom we have not the spirit to subdue nor the magnanimity to yield to, will avail of the weakness of New York. On the north-west there are the British posts and hostile savages. In case of domestic war, the Hudson, intersecting the State, weakens it by the difficulty of bringing one part to support the other. Consequently, our wealth and our weakness equally require the support of a Federal Union. A union can only be found in the existing Confederation, or in that under consideration; and as a union can only be founded upon the consent of the States, it should be sought, when that consent may be expected. The powers of Confederation were very similar to those in the proposed Constitution. Why had they not been efficient? Why was Vermont an independent State? Why have new States been rent from those in the West, in defiance of our plighted faith? Why are

the British posts within the limits of the States? Because the Confederation is defective in principle and impeachable in execution, operating on States in their political capacity, not upon individuals. The powers intended to be vested in the Federal head have been impossible of execution, on the principle of a league of States totally separate and independent, therefore the form of government must be changed." Lansing said: "We ought to be extremely cautious how we establish a government which may give distinct interests to the rulers and the ruled. The objections urged against the Confederation are, that it affords no defense against foreign attack, and no security for domestic tranquillity. Both might be compassed if Congress could be vested with power to raise men and money, its legislation to act on individuals, after requisitions had been made and not complied with. This proposed Constitution I suppose to be a new experiment in politics. A government so organized and possessing such powers will unavoidably terminate in depriving us of civil liberty. Conquest can do no more; that, in the present state of civilization, subjects us to be ruled by persons in whose appointment we have no agency. I am content to risk a possible even a probable evil to avoid a certain one. I contemplate the idea of disunion with pain, but if it should ensue, what is to be apprehended? We are connected both by interest and affection with the Eastern States, we harbor no animosities against each other, we have no interfering territorial claims. Our manners are nearly similar, they are daily assimilating, and mutual advantages will probably prompt to mutual concessions and enable us to form a union with them. I have declared that a consolidated government, even partaking in a great degree of republican principles, which had in its object the control of the inhabitants of the extensive territory of the United States, could not preserve the essential rights and liberties of the people. Reflection has given that belief greater force, and as the representative of others, my duty is to offer amendments to this Constitution. Any amendment which will have a tendency to lessen the danger of the invasion of civil liberty by the general government will meet my approbation, while none which in the remotest degree originate in local views will receive my concurrence." The Chancellor rejoined, that if a federal requisition upon a State was disregarded, subsequent federal action upon individuals must be a source of eternal disorder, for then there would be a body of federal officials acting in a State in direct opposition to the declared sense of its legislature.

Melancthon Smith was "willing to sacrifice anything for a union except the liberties of his country. That was the point to be debated. As for alarm from the inimical disposition of the Eastern States, he did not believe

in the existence of such feelings. It could not be supposed that those States would war on us for exercising the rights of free men, deliberating and judging for ourselves on a subject the most interesting that ever came before any assembly. If war with our neighbors was to be the result of not acceding, debate was useless. We had better receive their dictates, if we were unable to resist them. The defects of the old Confederation needed as little proof as the necessity of a union, but the question is not whether the old plan was bad, but whether the new one is good. To the clause before the committee his objections were threefold. To the apportionment, the principle of representation is that a free agent ought to be concerned in governing himself. Slaves have no will of their own, therefore the rule of apportionment was founded on an unjust principle, but if the result of accommodation, it must be admitted, utterly repugnant as it was. To the absence of a prohibition against a reduction of the number of the House—the first Congress would have the power to reduce the number, a power inconsistent with every principle of a free government. If the only security is the integrity of those trusted with power, it is idle to contend about constitutions. To the inadequacy of representation, twenty thousand should be entitled to a representative."

Hamilton rose. "The radical defect of the Confederation is that the laws of the Union apply only to the States in their corporate capacity. They cannot be made effective but by an army. Can any reasonable man be well disposed toward a government which makes war and carnage the only means of supporting itself, a government that can only exist by the sword? What is the cure for this great evil? To enable the national laws to act upon individuals in the same manner as those of the State do. Why not, then, give that capacity to the Confederation? Because, though such a system may be safely intrusted with certain powers, to give it unlimited power over taxation and the national forces would be to establish a despotism; for, the definition of a despotism is, all power concentrated in a single body. He then proceeded to disclose the reasonings and conclusions of the Federal Convention; to demonstrate that the project submitted was the outcome of a series of bargains; and to assert that if a convention of a similar character met again, met twenty times, or twenty thousand times, it must have the same difficulties to encounter, and the same clashing interests to reconcile. He also examined the equity of that bargain which apportioned representation. "Much has been said as to the impropriety of representing men who have no wills of their own. Whether this be reasoning or declamation, I will not presume to say. It is the unfortunate situation of the Southern States, to have a great part of their popu-

lation, as well as property, in blacks. The regulation complained of was one result of the spirit of accommodation which governed the Convention, and without this indulgence no union could have been formed. But, considering the peculiar advantages we derive from them, it is entirely just that they should be gratified. The Southern States have certain staples, tobacco, rice, indigo, which must be capital objects in treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and the advantages which they necessarily procure will be felt throughout all the States. But the justice of this plan will appear in another view. The best writers on government have held that representation should be compounded of persons and property. This rule has been adopted, as far as it could be, in the Constitution of New York. It will, however, be by no means admitted that the slaves are altogether property. They are men, though degraded to the condition of slavery. They are persons, known to the municipal laws of the States they inhabit, as well as to the laws of nature. But representation and taxation ought to go together, and one uniform rule to apply to both. Would it be just to compute the slaves in the assessment of taxes, and discard them from the estimate in the apportionment of representation? Another circumstance ought to be considered. The rule is a general rule, and applies to all the States. You have a great number of people in your State who are not represented at all and have no voice in your government. These will be included in the enumeration; not three-fifths, but the whole. This proves that the advantages of the plan are not confined to the Southern States, but extend to other parts of the union." As to the future number of representatives, he "admitted that there were no direct words of prohibition against a reduction, but the true and genuine construction of the clause does not give Congress power to reduce representation below the number as it stood." Upon the proper number to send a representative, he argued, "that the proper number was a matter of opinion, between what all regarded as too small and what all considered too great. The diversity in the State legislatures proved it; but while one proportion might be more or less wise, no proportion, upon the basis assumed, could be unjust. More of an argument which surveyed the subject from every side need not be cited, except so much as replied to an objection of Melancthon Smith, who had contended for the smaller number, because the larger would throw the office into the hands of the rich, and exclude the middling class, always the superior in virtue and patriotism. The people have it in their power to elect the most meritorious men. While property continues to be pretty equally divided, and a considerable share of information pervades the community, the tendency of the people's suffrages will be to

elevate merit, even from obscurity. As riches increase and accumulate in a few hands, as luxury prevails in society, virtue will, in a greater degree, be considered only a graceful appendage of wealth, and the tendency of things will be to depart from the republican standard. This is the real disposition of human nature; it is what neither the honorable member nor I can correct; it is a common misfortune, that awaits our State Constitution as well as all others. But experience does not justify the supposition that there is more virtue in one class of men than in another. Look through the rich and the poor of a community, the learned and the unlearned. Where does virtue predominate? The difference, indeed, consists not in the quantity, but in the kind of vices which are incident to various classes. Here the advantage of character belongs to the wealthy; their vices are probably more favorable to the prosperity of the State than those of the indigent, and partake less of moral depravity." To a suggestion that the failure of the Confederation was largely due to the efforts of powerful and designing men, aiming at revolution and instigating disaffection, he answered: "The insinuation is false, the thing is impossible. I will venture to assert, that no combination of designing men under heaven will be capable of making a government unpopular which in its principle is a wise and good one and vigorous in its operations."

At least one speech, and a very important one, of Hamilton's is not reported. Its purport can be guessed only from the answer of Smith. "The last speaker has assured the committee that the States would be checks upon the general government, and had pledged himself to point out and demonstrate the operation of those checks." For himself, he could not see the possibility of checking a government of independent powers, which extended to all objects and measures without limitation. His own aim was to provide such checks as would not leave the exercise of government to the operation of causes which in their nature are variable and uncertain.

Mr. G. Livingston moved an amendment to the Senate clause that no person shall be a senator for more than six years in any twelve years, and that the legislatures of the States may recall either or both, and elect others in their stead. Lansing supported it. "We are told that in one house, individuals, the people of the State, are represented, in the other its sovereignty. Should not the principal have the right to recall his agent? If the agent seeks his personal interest in disregard of that of the States, is the latter to be powerless for six years?" Smith suggested the additional possibility of corruption, both in the official and the people. He must have been asked, although the question does not appear, how corruption

was practicable, and whence the fund for corruption. "More than one of the gentlemen have ridiculed my apprehensions of corruption. How, they say, are the people to be corrupted? By their own money. In many countries people pay their money to corrupt themselves, why should it not happen in this? I presume there is not a government in the world in which there is a greater scope for influence and corruption through the disposal of offices." Hamilton spoke twice against this amendment. "The zeal for liberty became predominant and excessive in us, as was natural, when the usurpation of Great Britain had to be met. That object is certainly very valuable, but there is another equally important a principle of strength and stability in the organization of the government and vigor in its operations; a purpose not to be accomplished but by the establishment of a select body founded particularly on this principle. It must be small, hold its authority during a considerable period, and have such an independence in the exercise of its powers as will divest it as much as possible of local prejudices. It should be so formed as to be the center of political knowledge, to pursue always a steady line of conduct, and to reduce every irregular propensity to system. Without this establishment, we may make experiments without end, but shall never have an efficient government. It is an unquestionable truth, that the body of the people in every country sincerely desires its prosperity, but it is equally unquestionable that they do not possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government. To deny that they are frequently led into the grossest errors by misinformation and passion would be a flattery their own good sense must despise. That branch of administration which involves our political relations with foreign States, a community will ever be incompetent to. These truths are not often held up in public assemblies, but they cannot be unknown to any who hear me. Consider the purposes for which the Senate was instituted, and the nature of the business to be transacted. They, together with the President, are to manage all our concerns with foreign nations, and understand all their interests, and political systems. This knowledge is not soon acquired; but a small part is gained in the closet." The conclusion he deduced was, that the amendment assimilated the Senate to the House, and just in proportion as the resemblance was closer, the mischief was greater. Up to this stage of the debate, the advocates of ratification had represented the Constitution as a system of checks and balances by which power and liberty were reconciled, checks and balances in the machinery of government, a check and balance between the Union and each of its constituent factors. Assertion of the latter was as constant as of the former. "The balance between the

National and the State governments ought to be dwelt on with peculiar attention. It forms a double security for the people. If one encroaches on their rights, they will find a powerful protector in the other. Indeed, they will both be prevented from overpassing their constitutional limits by a certain rivalry which will ever subsist between them. The State governments possess inherent advantages, which will ever give them an influence and ascendancy over the national government, and will forever preclude the possibility of federal encroachments." The ground upon which Hamilton predicted these assertions was: "There are certain social principles in human nature, from which we may draw the most solid conclusion with respect to the conduct of individuals and communities. We love our families more than our neighbors; we love our neighbors more than our countrymen in general. The human affections, like the solar heat, lose their intensity as they depart from the centre, and become languid in proportion to the expansion of the circle in which they act. On these principles the attachment of the individual will be first and forever secured by the State governments, and they will be a mutual protection and support." The answers of Smith and Lansing were: "How, upon your theory, can a State government oppose the federal government, except by inciting its citizens to hostility? what remedy against misgovernment do you propose but rebellion? If the governments are rivals, must not one finally conquer and destroy the other? They ought not to be and need not be rivals, there should not be opposition, there should be harmony between them. The means are in our hands, the task is easy. What would be the functions of a government in an independent state are in a union, divided between an organization created by a constitution and an organization originally existing. The line between the powers of each ought to be so strongly marked and so obvious that misconception will be impossible to a sane mind. How otherwise can right and wrong exist? Such a line is possible or impossible: if impossible, constitutional government is impossible, and the pretense of it hypocrisy; if possible, why not draw the line, or if you think it drawn, point it out?" The experience of daily life seems in some measure to support that view. A multitude of men can pass through a narrow street with ease and comfort if the ascending and descending stream of travel observes the law of the road. The subsequent speeches of Hamilton show the influence of this reasoning upon his mind. "In debates of this kind, it is extremely easy, on either side, to say a great number of plausible things. It is to be acknowledged that there is even a certain degree of truth in the reasonings on both sides. In this situation, it is the province of judgment and good sense to determine their force

and application, and how far the arguments on one side are balanced by those on the other. The ingenious dress in which both may appear renders it a difficult task to make this decision, and the mind is frequently unable to come to a safe and solid conclusion. There are two objects in forming systems of government: safety for the people, and energy in the administration. When these objects are united, the certain tendency of the system will be the public welfare. If the latter object be neglected, the people's security will be as certainly sacrificed as by disregarding the former. Good constitutions are formed upon a comparison of the liberty of the individual with the strength of the government. If the tone of either be too high, the other will be weakened too much. It is the happiest mode of conciliating these objects to institute one branch endowed with sensibility, and another with knowledge and firmness. Through the opposition and mutual control of these bodies the government will reach in its operations the perfect balance between liberty and power." The validity of this argument rests upon the assumption that the two bodies represent distinct and hostile interests, and that each would be restrained from excess by the fear of a civil war, in which each could, with equal justice, claim to be defending the right. The subsequent admission, that they were agencies of the same principal, justified Smith and Lansing in denying any novelty to the proposition. Not based upon fact, it has been disproved by experience. President, Senate, House, and Judiciary may, as they have represented the same men, been swayed by the same motives, and sought the same objects. Truth at most could say: there is some check in the equality of the States, there may be another, the mutation of opinion. The necessities of advocacy at last forced Hamilton into asserting that a senator was an agent for the Union, not simply the agent of a State, and into claiming that "the senate should be formed, so as in some measure to check the State governments." He replied to a remark of Smith, "that the interest of each State was the interest of every State, and must be so in a well-regulated government. It has been remarked that there is an inconsistency in our admitting that the equal vote in the Senate was given to secure the rights of the States, and at the same time holding that their interests should be sacrificed to those of the Union. The committee can certainly perceive the difference between the rights of a State and its interests. The rights of a State are defined by the Constitution and cannot be invaded without a violation of it; but the interests of a State have no connection with the Constitution and may in a thousand instances be constitutionally sacrificed." At this period Chancellor Livingston informed the committee, "that the ninth State had ratified the

Constitution, and that the Confederation was consequently dissolved. The question now before the committee was one of policy and expediency. He presumed the Convention would consider the situation of their country. Some might contemplate disunion without pain, and flatter themselves that some of the Southern States would form a league with us. He could not look without horror at the dangers to which any such confederacy would expose the State of New York. It might be political cowardice, but he had felt since yesterday an alteration of circumstances which had made a most solemn impression on his mind." Smith said that the change of circumstances had not altered his feelings, or his wishes on the subject, he had long been convinced that nine States would receive the Constitution.

Lansing said: "I do not agree that our particular circumstances are in fact altered since yesterday. That the ninth State has ratified the Constitution is an event which ought not to influence our deliberations. I presume that I shall not be charged with rashness if I continue to insist that it is still our duty to maintain our rights. Our dissent cannot prevent the operation of the government; since nine States have acceded to it, let them make the experiment. It has been said that some might contemplate disunion without terror. I have heard no sentiment from any gentleman that can warrant such an insinuation. We ought not, however, to suffer our fears to force us to adopt a system which is dangerous to liberty." Upon the several clauses of the Constitution as they were read amendments were offered and debates ensued. If not carrying conviction, they disclosed exactly how far men were apart, and who, on one or both sides, were anxious to find some basis of agreement. The opposite positions upon the scope of federal power can be summed up on one side in the words of Hamilton, "When you have divided and nicely balanced the departments of government, when you have strongly connected the virtue of your rulers with their interest—when you have rendered your system as perfect as human forms can be, you must have confidence, you must give power;" and, on the other side, in the words of Treadwell: "We are told that if government is properly organized, and the powers suitably distributed among the several members, it is unnecessary to provide any other security against the abuse of power; that power thus distributed needs not restriction. Is this a Whig principle? does not every constitution on the Continent contradict this position? Whatever be the design of the preachers, the tendency of their doctrines is clear; to corrupt our political faith, to take us off our guard, to lull to sleep that jealousy which, we are told by all writers, and is proved by all experience, to be essentially necessary for the preservation of freedom. In this Constitution we have departed

widely from the principles and political faith of '76, when the spirit of liberty ran high and danger put a curb on ambition. Here we have no security for the rights of individuals, for the existence of our State governments, no Bill of Rights, no proper restriction of power. Our lives, our property, our consciences, are left wholly at the mercy of the legislature; the powers of the judiciary may be extended to any degree short of Almighty. A union with our sister States I as ardently desire as any man, and that upon the most generous principles. The design of a union is safety. In one sense this may bring us to a state of safety; for it may reduce us to such a condition that we may be sure nothing worse can happen, and consequently have nothing to fear. This is a dreadful kind of safety, but it is the only kind of safety I can see in this union." Amendments and debates thereon (not recorded) occupied yet more than a fortnight; then Lansing moved a conditional ratification, with a Bill of Rights prefixed and amendments subjoined. The motion was carried. The vote is not given, but it was undoubtedly thirty to twenty-seven. Four days after, Mr. Jones moved that the words "in full confidence" be substituted in the form of ratification for the words "on condition." That motion was carried by thirty-one to twenty-nine. M. Smith, G. Livingston, and Williams had passed over to their former adversaries. How they were won is not told, but may be easily guessed. The circular-letter from the Convention to the governors of the several States in the Union discloses the compromise, which in their view justified the transfer of votes. A few sentences will exhibit it.

"Several articles in the Constitution appear so exceptionable to a majority of us, that nothing but the fullest confidence of obtaining a revision of them by a general convention, and an invincible reluctance to separate from our sister States, could have prevailed upon a sufficient number to ratify it, without stipulating for previous amendments. We *all* unite in the opinion that such a revision will be necessary to recommend it to the approbation and support of a numerous body of our constituents." The final vote was thirty to twenty-seven. Most of the counties were unanimously for or against ratification. The trading classes, and the seashored counties, were unanimous in their desire for the adoption of the Constitution; the agricultural class, and the interior counties, were the opponents. Before the final vote was taken, Lansing made a last effort to compel amendments. He moved a resolution that the State of New York reserve the right to withdraw from the Union after a certain number of years, unless the amendments proposed should previously be submitted to a general convention. That motion was negatived. The vote upon it is not in the printed report. The sense of the Convention on the subject

of the long list of proposed amendments is expressed in one paragraph of the circular-letter: "Our amendments will manifest that none of them originated in local views; they are such as, if acceded to, must equally affect every State in the Union. Our attachment to our sister States, and the confidence we repose in them, cannot be more forcibly demonstrated than by acceding to a government, which many of us think very imperfect, and devolving the power of determining whether that government shall be rendered perpetual in its present form, or altered agreeably to our wishes, and a minority of the States with whom we unite." The debates in the Convention of New York are like a Homeric battle. Hamilton against a host. His mind, "like an ample shield, took all their darts, with verge enough for more." The display of intellectual power is the more remarkable from his total lack of faith in the plan. Of all men who have ever lived in the United States, his was the most complete mind. He seemed to absorb information. Upon any subject he could leap fully armed into the saddle, ready to meet all comers. If right, he was irresistible; if wrong, master of sophistry, he was almost irrefutable. His ideal of government was based upon human nature, as exhibited for thousands of years, not upon the then characteristics of American nature. He believed that the existing passion for liberty must be evanescent, and that his countrymen would soon become as other men—more eager to rule, than jealous of rule. Instead of a Federal Union, he wished a legislative Union, with exceptions of power, and a senate embodying the good features of the Senate of Rome; both it and the President to be elevated above party, by a tenure beyond party. He purposed that the democratic element should be fully represented in the House. His political career in the new Union was shaped by a belief often expressed—that the Federal would be invaded by the State power. His theory of construction was inspired by a conviction that the federal principle must rest on force or on interest; not on good faith. No man, even believing that theory fatal, ever distrusted his motives or doubted of his patriotism. To those, Burr, his sole rival in New York, did full justice, although a mutual personal enmity of long date was conjoined with political divergence.

A. W. Blason

CEDAR MOUNTAIN*

II.

On the 4th of August the order was given to McClellan from Washington to withdraw his army from Harrison's Landing and transport it by water to Aquia Creek, thence to support a direct movement on Richmond.† Nearly at the same time the advance of General Lee's army pushed northward, drove in General Bayard's pickets, and crossed the Rapidan at several points west of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. On the 6th of August—a broiling hot day—General Banks' Corps passed Woodville, going southward, and for many hours the turnpike was crowded with its artillery, wagons, and dust-covered columns of infantry. On the 7th General Pope arrived at Sigel's head-quarters and made a hasty review of the troops, while, as it happened, they were maneuvering in the fields near the turnpike. Pope rode on toward Culpeper Court House, where he arrived the next morning. After quitting Sigel, he sent back the following dispatch, dated August 8: "Hold your whole command in readiness to move forward at a moment's warning. The enemy is advancing."

Before receiving this Sigel had been apprised of the enemy's designs by Cluseret, who, the day before (7th), had reported from Criglersville that early on the 8th Stonewall Jackson, with 25,000 men, would march toward Culpeper, intending to sweep around by way of Woodville and Sperryville. Later in the day (8th) Sigel received from Cluseret the following, addressed by Colonel Ruggles, Pope's chief of staff, to General Buford, and by him transmitted to Cluseret: "The enemy are advancing against Bayard in force, in from [front?] of this place." In forwarding this to Sigel Cluseret indorsed these comments in French: "This dispatch seems to me to define the situation, and to be in conformity with what I sent yesterday. The enemy will try to pass between Culpeper and Madison. I shall act according to what he will do, because thus far I have no decisive information."

Now at this time Buford's cavalry brigade was at Madison Court House, and Bayard's at or near Rapidan Station. Jackson was advancing against Bayard, and Sigel's position was such as to afford him an excellent

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† The withdrawal did not begin until some days afterward, and McClellan's rear guard did not get away from Harrison's Bar until August 16.

opportunity, as he thought, to strike the enemy in flank. For this purpose he might march from Woodville to James City, and being there joined by Buford and Cluseret, he could fall upon Jackson in the neighborhood of Calvin's Tavern. Or, at James City, he could change direction toward Culpeper, should that seem to be most expedient. Now, as Pope, in directing Sigel to be ready to march, had said nothing as to the line of march, Sigel deemed it his duty to inquire what route he should take, and thereby direct Pope's mind to the propriety of the flank movement and attack just described. At all events, the uncertainty which existed, as Pope himself states, as to whether the enemy was aiming toward Madison or Culpeper, made the inquiry a perfectly proper one. General Pope represents that this inquiry of Sigel's about the road caused such delay in the movement of the First Corps as to render that corps unavailable in the battle of the 9th.* General Pope is in error. Sigel's inquiry caused no delay whatever in the movement of his corps, nor was there any delay in the movement of that corps for which General Sigel was responsible. Sigel's dispatch inquiring what road he should take was dated, Pope says, at 6.50 P.M., August 8. After it was written and sent Sigel received from Pope the following, dated Culpeper, August 8, hour not given: "The enemy has attacked our left, and is advancing on this place. Major-General Pope directs, in consequence thereof, that you move your command at once to this point. You will move on the road from Sperryville to Culpeper, and must encamp to-night at the point where that road crosses the Hazel River. You will continue the march to-morrow morning, so as to arrive here at as early an hour as possible, *unless otherwise ordered.*"† This dispatch was received by Sigel between seven and eight o'clock the evening of the 8th. It was obeyed instantly. As soon as it came it was communicated to the commanders of divisions, and a few minutes later the different columns were filing out of their camps into the turnpike. Milroy's Brigade led. It broke up its camps shortly after sundown, was on the road at dark, and marched all night. About an hour before midnight the column reached Hazel River, and there, in accordance with Pope's

* General Pope's fault-finding with Sigel, here referred to, is contained in his general report, written at the close of the campaign, and is quite at variance with a previous report written by him on the 13th of August, in which he says, referring to the Cedar Mountain battle: "I desire publicly to express my appreciation of the prompt and skillful manner in which Generals McDowell and Sigel brought forward their respective commands and established them on the field, and of their cheerful and hearty co-operation with me from beginning to end."

† In a later dispatch to Sigel, Pope directs: "Move your command *to-night* to Hazel River and march to this point early to-morrow morning." This was received by Sigel on the march, and shows that an earlier movement than during the night of the 8th was not expected.

instructions, Schenck and Schurz encamped. Milroy, with his usual impatience, desired to push on at once to Culpeper, and was allowed to do so. This continuance of the night march by Milroy was permitted all the more readily on account of the excessive heat, which, in day-time, marked 100 degrees in the shade. Even at night the atmosphere was disagreeably sultry.

Sigel was directed to proceed from Hazel River to Culpeper on the morning of the 9th "unless otherwise ordered." He was otherwise ordered. Intending to make an early start, he was ready to move at five o'clock, when he received from Pope the following, dated "Culpeper Court House, August 9": "You will please halt your command at Hazel Run. Let the men get something to eat, and lie down and rest. If it is necessary for you to come forward to-day, word will be sent to you in time. If you are on this side of Hazel River, you will please halt your command at the first convenient place. The major-general commanding desires you to advise him when you arrive at Hazel River."

Detained by this, Sigel waited until nine o'clock, or later, when he received an order to bring his corps forward at once to Culpeper. This order was immediately put into execution. The heat of the sun was again excessive, and the troops moved amidst stifling clouds of dust. A train of eleven hundred wagons followed the column. In the Valley campaign our wagon equipment had been insufficient, but now it was redundant. The First Corps had to carry four wheels for every twelve men. Having put his divisions in motion at Hazel River, Sigel rode forward and at about eleven o'clock A.M. personally reported to Pope at his head-quarters at Culpeper. He found the general-commanding sitting in a rocking-chair, smoking a cigar, and apparently in good humor. Sigel gave a full account of his movements, and Pope seemed to be entirely satisfied. Nothing was said about delay, and no complaint or reproach was uttered.

Milroy, as we have seen, marched all night. He arrived at Culpeper just at sunrise, and led his troops, weary and covered with dust, into a wood east of the town, *where they remained all day*. Before leaving Sperryville, Sigel called up Von Steinwehr's division from Luray, and directed Cluseret to move eastward from Criglersville. During the morning of the 9th these orders were in course of execution. Banks' Corps was at Culpeper, except Crawford's Brigade, which had arrived there some days before, and had been thrown forward (on the 8th) to support Buford's cavalry. Ricketts' Division of McDowell's Corps had come up from Waterloo Bridge on the 7th, and had gone forward to hold an important road-crossing three miles south of the town. King's Division of the same

corps had been summoned from Falmouth, and was marching toward Culpeper via Stevensburg.

Such, in brief, was the situation of our army early on the 9th. The demonstrations against our cavalry pickets the day before had been such as to make it very uncertain whether the enemy meant to move toward Madison Court House or Culpeper. While in doubt on this subject, Pope had resolved to keep himself on the interior line, and concentrate his forces toward Culpeper. He was thus enabled to hold his communications with Fredericksburg and the lower fords of the Rappahannock, as he had been instructed to do. While our troops were thus concentrating the enemy was hastening to take advantage of their scattered condition. Ewell's Division of Stonewall Jackson's Corps, holding the advance of Lee's army, had crossed the Rapidan at Barnett's Ford on the 8th, and that division, strongly re-inforced, was now, on the morning of the 9th, driving Buford's cavalry steadily back upon its infantry reserve. That reserve, under General Crawford, had chosen its position at a point near where the Culpeper road crosses Cedar Run, just north of Cedar Mountain. This historic eminence, locally known, from the name of its proprietor, as Slaughter Mountain, stands alone, like a wayward straggler from the Blue Ridge range, and resembles, both in its form and its isolation, the "Lost Mountain" in Georgia. As a *point d'appui* it was of great importance both to the enemy and to ourselves, and Jackson lost no time in securing possession of it. As early as 10 A.M. his advance, under Ewell, made its appearance before Crawford's line, and opened fire from its batteries posted around the base and side of the mountain. Spurred by the sound of the firing, Jackson's old division, under General Charles S. Winder, was hurrying up from Robertson River to the support of Ewell. A. P. Hill's Division of six heavy brigades followed Winder's. The junction of these divisions with Ewell's gave Jackson an available force on the field of little less than 25,000 men.

At 9.45 A.M. General Banks, at Culpeper, was directed to advance the remainder of his corps to the front. The instructions given him verbally by Colonel Lewis H. Marshall, of Pope's staff, and reduced to writing by Colonel Pelouze, Banks' adjutant-general, were as follows: "General Banks will move to the front immediately, assume command of all the forces in the front, deploy his skirmishers if the enemy approaches, and attack him immediately as soon as he approaches, and be re-inforced from here."

Writing afterward (in 1864) from memory, Colonel Marshall gives the following as the phraseology of the order as he delivered it: "The

general-commanding directs that you move to the front and take up a strong position near the position held by General Crawford's Brigade; that you will not attack the enemy unless it becomes evident that the enemy will attack you; then, in order to hold the advantage of being the attacking party, you will attack with your skirmishers thrown well to the front."

It seems unaccountable that there should have been any ambiguity or misunderstanding of orders in such an emergency. The obviously proper thing to do was to hold the enemy in check until the arrival of Sigel, Ricketts, and King. Interpreting Pope's orders by the plain exigencies of the case, it can scarcely be doubted that this is what he meant, for it was not to be expected that Banks, with less than 8,000 men, should assail Jackson, in a position of his own choosing, with 25,000. But the time was not opportune for verbal or inexplicit orders, and the observation is forced upon us that upon this occasion, as upon several others during this campaign, General Pope seems to have committed or allowed too much to his staff officers. Possibly if he had rode out and personally inspected the situation at the front, instead of giving orders from Culpeper, the results might have been different.*

Banks' command moved promptly and rapidly. It consisted of two divisions of two brigades each. The First Division was led by Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams, afterward so well known to the soldiers of the Twentieth Corps in the army of General Sherman. One of the two brigades of this division was that of General S. W. Crawford, already at the front; the other was that of General George H. Gordon. The Second Division was commanded by Brigadier-General C. C. Augur, and comprised the brigades of Generals Henry Prince, George S. Greene, and John W. Geary. The march lasted until noon, and so great was the heat that men fell down exhausted, and even dead, in the road. On reaching the field, the arriving column, by direction of Pope's Chief-of-Staff, crossed Cedar Run, and went into position on the high ground beyond that stream. North of the road Crawford's Brigade, with the cavalry on its flank, held the right, and south of the road Geary's, Prince's, and Greene's brigades, in the order

* In his testimony before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, in December, 1884, General Banks said: "I sent to General Pope every hour, from one or two o'clock, information of what was transpiring. I did not say the enemy was in force, because I did not know it; and I was a little desperate because we supposed that General Pope thought we did not want to fight. General Roberts, when he indicated the position, said to me in a tone which it was hardly proper for one officer to use to another, 'There must be no backing out this day.' He said this to me from six to twelve times. I made no reply to him at all, but I felt it keenly, because I knew that my command did not want to back out; we had backed out enough. He repeated this declaration a great many times, 'There must be no backing out this day.'"

named, extended Crawford's line to the left. To the rear of Crawford, in strong position behind the Run, Gordon's Brigade was stationed in reserve. Between our lines and the enemy lay a wide, open space, consisting of wheat, corn, and pasture fields, beyond which were dense woods in which Jackson's infantry was adroitly concealed.

These dispositions were completed by three o'clock P.M. While they were in progress Ewell, gallantly but unavailingly resisted by Bayard's cavalry, pushed steadily forward through the woods on our left until his two right brigades—Hays' and Trimble's—gained a commanding position high on the northern slope of Cedar Mountain. From this lofty ground some of Ewell's batteries, quickly brought into position, delivered a plunging fire, seriously annoying to that part of our line within range. Holding Ewell's left, Early drove back our cavalry until he was confronted by the infantry and artillery of Augur's Division. Directly Winder's Division came up on the left of Ewell's, with Taliaferro's Brigade south of the road, joining Early, Campbell's Brigade north of the road, confronting Crawford, and Ronald's (the old "Stonewall") Brigade in reserve. General Winder, while making these dispositions and placing his batteries, was killed by a shell, and his command devolved upon General W. B. Taliaferro.

Jackson was now waiting for A. P. Hill, whose division, as fast as it arrived, was placed to the rear and in support of Taliaferro and Ewell. As soon as all his forces were well in hand, Jackson proposed to attack. He had no expectation of being attacked himself. Banks entertained other ideas, and at four o'clock advanced his whole line, except Gordon's Brigade, some hundreds of yards. The artillery firing, which had been going on since morning, now became violent, and our batteries gave as good as they received. The friction of the skirmish-lines grew more vigorous, our regiments pressed up firmly and steadily to their new positions, and thus another hour passed.

At half-past five o'clock, while Jackson was preparing but not yet ready to spring, Banks gave the signal to attack. With a rush Crawford's Brigade crossed a wheat-field, and fell with all its force on Campbell's left. At the same time Geary and Prince swept forward through some corn-fields, and struck heavily at Campbell's right and the brigades of Early and Taliaferro. Crawford's assault was delivered with splendid momentum and carried all before it. Campbell's Brigade was crushed and swept from the field, and its commander killed. Crawford's men then rushed upon Taliaferro's flank and broke that also. The Confederates, according to their own account, "fought like lions," but in vain. Assailed in front by Geary,

and on the flank by Crawford, Taliaferro's Brigade met the fate of Campbell's, and Early's situation became critical. Ronald's Brigade was too far back to render prompt assistance, and some of Early's left regiments were carried away by Taliaferro's flight. The battle had reached its crisis, and now was the time to have precipitated Gordon's Brigade and Milroy's upon the enemy. Had these brigades, or Ricketts' Division, or both, been brought into the fight at this moment, the tide of success would have continued in our favor, a decisive victory would have been won, and the whole course of events in Virginia would have been changed. But Gordon yet remained back of Cedar Run, Ricketts was still at his cross-road station, and Milroy was at Culpeper Court House.

Thomas' Brigade, of Hill's Division, came up on the right of Early, who held stubbornly to his position. Ronald's Brigade broke through the woods, and struck Crawford's men just when most fagged and disorganized by their success. Supported by Thomas, Ewell threw his whole force upon Augur's Division, which had no reserves. To crown all, three of Hill's brigades rushed upon our right flank, with Jackson himself at their head.* Our soldiers fought stubbornly, but the odds were greatly against them. They were driven back with heavy loss. Generals Geary and Augur were wounded, and General Prince and four hundred of his men were captured.

One of Crawford's finest regiments—the Tenth Maine—had not joined in the assault, and was now ordered by General Banks to throw itself upon the triumphant enemy. Gallantly advancing through the bloody wheat-field, this regiment soon found itself alone confronting the woods filled with Confederates. Isolated and unsupported it fought nobly until its steady lines melted away. In a few minutes it lost one hundred and seventy-three officers and men killed and wounded. Gordon's Brigade was next summoned to the front. It should have remained where it was, and there served as a nucleus for rallying our broken regiments. But Banks peremptorily ordered it forward, and forward it went. Before it, and sweeping around its flanks, was the greater part of Hill's strong division, flushed with victory. Gordon's attack was gallant, but unavailing, and his repulse bloody. The lives sacrificed by pushing him forward at the time it was done were wasted. Gordon brought three or four hun-

* The presence of Jackson, leading them in person, seemed to produce an indescribable influence on the troops, and as he rode to and fro, amid the smoke, encouraging the men, they greeted him with resounding cheers. This was one of the few occasions when he is reported to have been mastered by excitement. He had forgotten, apparently, that he commanded the whole field, and imagined himself a simple colonel leading his regiment. Everywhere, in the thickest of the fire, his form was seen and his voice heard, and his exertions to rally the men were crowned with success.—*Cooke's Life of Jackson*.

dred of his men out of the fight; Crawford rode out of it alone. What was left of our forces engaged withdrew behind Cedar Run, and the battle ended. It was by this time dark. The enemy warily followed up his advantage, shelling the woods as he advanced, and thus keeping up the cannonade until midnight. Meanwhile Ricketts' Division came up about dusk, and relieved a portion of Banks' thinned and exhausted regiments.

All day long Milroy's men had been lying in the woods near Culpeper, listening to the savage uproar of the artillery as it rolled louder and louder across the hills. At four o'clock P.M. Schenck's and Schurz's divisions arrived from Hazel River, and at five o'clock Sigel was ordered to move his whole command to the front. Milroy marched at once, accompanied by Sigel, and Schenck and Schurz followed after allowing their men to take a brief rest and draw rations. Our head of column soon began to encounter the rearward-drifting debris of the battle. Long trains of ambulances filled with wounded were passed, and wild stories were told by "demoralized" stragglers of the day's adventures and calamities. "Our regiment was all cut to pieces," said several; "our brigade was all cut to pieces." Everything was cut to pieces. "This is all that is left of my company," said a commissioned officer as he passed me, accompanied by two or three men. "General Banks is wounded—perhaps killed," said another. "Fifty thousand Johnnies down there!" And so on for quantity. As Milroy's brigade neared the scene of action, the rearward tide increased and the excitement grew more intense. The cannonading was still furious, and the ignited shells, streaming and exploding against the midnight sky, presented a spectacle of savage grandeur. Riding at the head of Milroy's column, Sigel went forward, accompanied by his escort, to reconnoiter the ground just as Pegram's Battery, posted by Jackson, opened fire upon a mass of Banks' stragglers and vehicles blocked in the road. A delirious panic ensued. The teamsters and stragglers broke in all directions, wagons were overturned, and two of Banks' batteries, under Captain Reynolds, withdrew down the road toward Milroy. Sigel directed Captain Ulric Dahlgren, of his staff, to assist in posting these batteries, and at the same time Milroy deployed his brigade to the front. As the panic-stricken fugitives dashed against Milroy's lines, and were forbidden to go further, the shouting and swearing were prodigious. At the same time Reynolds' guns, having quickly gotten into position, were making effective response to Pegram's when General Pope arrived and directed Sigel to cease firing, because, as Pope said, our shots were falling among Banks' men yet in the woods in front.

Sigel made unavailing remonstrance, and ordered the batteries to cease firing, but cautioned Milroy to be upon his guard. Directly after this the enemy's cavalry dashed out of the woods, and came near capturing Pope, Sigel, and their attendants, but the reception given by Milroy's men to the Confederate troopers caused them to go back as speedily as they came.

Sigel's Corps, as fast as it arrived upon the field, advanced cautiously, and relieved the remainder of Banks' troops at the front. By three o'clock in the morning the entire corps was in position, ready to renew the battle at day-break. Meanwhile the artillery firing entirely ceased; all the din of conflict was hushed, and the wild cry of the whippoorwill was almost the only sound that broke the silence of the night.

At sunrise some of the enemy's horsemen strayed into our lines, but, on discovering their mistake, turned and fled precipitately, followed by Milroy, who fired after them some ineffective pistol-shots and emphatic exclamations. Milroy then advanced his lines, and developed the fact that during the night Jackson had withdrawn to his original position on Cedar Mountain. Some skirmishing ensued, and Sigel was disposed to attack in force, but Pope preferred to wait.

On the 11th a truce was arranged for the purpose of burying the dead and caring for the wounded who were lying exposed to the broiling sun upon the disputed ground. While engaged in this work, fatigue parties of both armies scoured the field, and frequently engaged in friendly conversations with each other. Where the severest fighting had occurred some horrible scenes were witnessed. Scores of human bodies were seen lying in different positions—some sitting and others on their knees—all enormously bloated, and black as pitch from the effects of the sun. The wounded left upon the field had suffered terribly from the effects of heat and thirst. Some of them had grown black from the heat, and yet lived! One poor fellow, whose leg was shattered by a shell, said he had not tasted a drop of water for forty-eight hours, yet during all that time, while suffering from the fever of his wound, he had been lying exposed to the fierce midsummer sun! Before the truce expired, King's Division arrived from Falmouth, and Jackson became apprehensive of being fallen upon by superior numbers, and losing his connections with Lee. He therefore decamped during the night of the 11th, and withdrew beyond Robertson River.

Alfred S. Lee

NEGRO SLAVES DURING THE CIVIL WAR

THEIR RELATIONS TO THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

The function of the Southern slaves in facilitating the operations of the Confederacy during the civil war was potent. Although an element of weakness when contrasted with what might reasonably have been expected from, and accomplished by, an equal number of intelligent whites, the negro population, nevertheless, fulfilled an important office in the governmental economy and, by the performance of valuable agricultural, mechanical, and quasi-military labors, contributed essentially to the general support, aided in the public defense, and liberated, for active service in the field, almost all the arms-bearing Caucasian inhabitants of the Confederate States. In the absence of their masters they were, at home, the hewers of wood, the drawers of water, the tillers of the soil, and the guardians of person and property. Nor, as we shall see, were their employments wholly confined to agricultural and servile operations. "Much of our success," writes ex-President Davis,* "was due to the much abused institution of African servitude, for it enabled the white men to go into the army and leave the cultivation of their fields and the care of their flocks, as well as of their wives and children, to those who, in the language of the Constitution, 'were held to service or labor.'"

Southern slaves cannot be too highly commended for their fidelity, quiet behavior, and patient labor during this eventful period. In localities not overrun or occupied by Federal forces they remained loyal to their owners. Few, indeed, were the instances of insubordination, and the history of the times furnishes no authentic examples of violence or insurrection. While the strong men were in the tented field, far removed from unprotected wives and children, their slaves remained quietly at home, tilling the soil, ministering to the wants of the household, and performing all servile obligations with the same cheerfulness and alacrity as when surrounded by the usual controlling agencies. In the devotion of his servants did the absent master confide. In his expectations of their fidelity he was not disappointed. Domestic operations were conducted with accustomed regularity: security of person and property was not invaded; and the usual tokens of respect and obedience were exhibited.

* *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, vol. I., p. 303.

Referring to the status of the freedmen during the period of reconstruction, a distinguished governor* of one of the leading Southern States, in transmitting a message to its General Assembly, gave this emphatic testimony: "I here declare that in my judgment their fidelity in the past and their decorum under the distressing influences of the present are without a parallel in history, and establish for them a claim upon our favoring patronage. God, in his abounding mercy and in the plenitude of his might, so dispose our fortunes and theirs that each class shall be to the other a blessing and not a curse."

Because agricultural operations were, in great measure, committed to, and performed by the slave population, was the Confederacy able to utilize so thoroughly the white military strength of the States which composed it. Nothing attests more surely the attachment then entertained by the servant for his master and family; nothing proclaims more emphatically the existing contentment with his station; nothing certifies more truly the pleasant relationship established between the races, than the domestic peace which reigned within the Confederate States at that epoch of uncertainty and apprehension. The record is unique; and yet, to one accustomed from earliest childhood to understand and appreciate the influences of that relationship as developed and confirmed for generations, the result appears but a logical sequence of mutual dependence, trust, and attachment.

The services of Southern slaves were not, however, limited to the performance of domestic duties and the cultivation of the soil. Many of them accompanied their owners to the front, shared with them the privations of camp life, endured the fatigues of the march, were exposed to the dangers of battle, served as cooks and hostlers, drove wagons, ministered to the sick and wounded in hospitals, and, in fine, discharged almost all duties other than those incident to bearing arms. Desertion to the enemy under such circumstances was unknown. It was only when portions of the Confederate territory had passed into the possession of the United States troops, and depôts had been formed within the limits of the Confederacy, that a disposition was manifested on the part of the slaves—now no longer under the control of their owners—to seek service and coalesce with the invader.

Another important station filled by the Southern slave during the war was that of a laborer engaged upon the construction of river, harbor, and city defenses, and in the erection of government buildings and of military works at strategic points. The service rendered in this behalf was great and of prime importance. During the early portion of the war it was, at

* Hon. C. J. Jenkins, of Georgia.

various points, freely contributed by the masters of plantations. As the struggle progressed it was made available under regulations prescribed, and for compensation provided, under the auspices of the Confederate government. In the absence of suitable records, it is impossible to specify the amount of labor thus rendered by the Southern slaves, but it is not an exaggeration to affirm that the forts, fixed batteries, permanent fortifications, and government works erected upon Confederate territory during the period covered by the war were, in the main, constructed through the intervention of negroes held in servitude.

At first, the expediency, if not the necessity, of drilling and arming able-bodied slaves and constituting them a component part of the Confederate armies was discussed by only a few and with bated breath. The suggestion did not commend itself to general favor. To the thoughtful mind such a step involved not only the practical emancipation of that portion of the enslaved race which might be mustered into service, but also the gradual manumission of the rest. To the timid and the mercenary, apprehension of the maiming and loss of valuable property and the interruption of agricultural pursuits long established were so grievous that the subject could not be contemplated with any degree of tolerance. To the average soldier, the admission of the negro to the privilege of bearing arms, even in defense of the Confederacy, was very distasteful. It savored of social and military equality, and he revolted at the idea. Disguise it as we may, if not previously threatened, the institution of slavery was violently assailed so soon as battle was joined between the sections. In the light of past agitation and party resolve, it required no prophetic vision to discern the fact, and that very early in the contest, that the success of Confederate arms was essential to the perpetuation of African servitude in this country. This the Southern people believed and recognized. Hence any measure, coming either from within or from without, which jeopardized the integrity of that institution was reprobated. As the war progressed and the Confederacy was gradually deprived of its domain,—as its armies were depleted by disease, wounds, and death, and the most comprehensive levies proved insufficient to repair these losses,—as supplies of all sorts grew scarcer, and hope of relief from abroad was shrouded in continued disappointment, men came to agitate more earnestly the imperative need of recruiting the Confederate armies from the able-bodied negro slaves of the country, and not a few began openly to avow their belief that the achievement of national independence even with the loss, either immediate or gradual, of the institution of slavery, would be preferable to subjugation at the hands of the North. In all this

matter of the employment of negro slaves in the military service of the nation, the Confederate Congress moved tardily, as a reference to its legislation on that subject will show.

By an act approved the 13th of October, 1862, the Congress of the Confederate States of America provided for the return to their owners of all slaves captured from the enemy, and authorized their employment, under suitable guard, in the construction of public works while they remained in depôt awaiting identification and reclamation by their masters.

In the act of the 26th of March, 1863, regulating impressments, provision was made for the impressment, by the Confederate government, of slaves to labor on fortifications and public works. No impressment, however, was to be resorted to where slaves could be hired or procured with the consent of their owners. Section tenth of that act declared that "previous to the first of December next no slave laboring on a farm or plantation exclusively devoted to the production of grain and provisions should be taken for public use without the consent of the owner, except in cases of urgent necessity."

The act, approved the 17th of February, 1864, empowered the Secretary of War to employ upon fortifications, on government works, in the production and preparation of war material, and in military hospitals, as many male negro slaves, not exceeding twenty thousand, as in his judgment the wants of the service might require; to furnish them, while so engaged, with proper rations and clothing, and to pay their owners such wages as might "be agreed upon for their use and service." In the event of the loss of any slaves, thus employed, "by the act of the enemy, or by escape to the enemy, or by death inflicted by the enemy, or by disease contracted while in any service required of them," their owners were declared "entitled to receive the full value of such slaves, to be ascertained by agreement or by appraisement." If unable to procure, by contract with their masters, as many male slaves as the necessities of the case demanded, the Secretary of War was authorized to resort to impressment to compel the requisite service. If the owner had but one male slave "between the ages of eighteen and fifty," such slave could not be impressed. It was further enacted that "not more than one of every five male slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five should be taken from any owner." This act also rendered all male free negroes between the ages of eighteen and forty-five liable to the performance of military service of the character above indicated. While thus engaged they were to receive rations and clothing, and compensation at the rate of eleven dollars a month.

In the opinion of Mr. Davis * this act produced less results than had been anticipated. It, however, brought forward more prominently the question of the employment of negro slaves as soldiers in the army. Public sentiment was divided. The file of the army and the citizens of the Confederacy were generally opposed to their enlistment.

In his message of November 7, 1864, President Davis, in commenting upon the act of the 17th of February, in urging upon Congress the consideration of the propriety of a radical modification of the theory of the law, and in discussing the expediency of elevating the Southern slaves to the status of soldiers in the armies of the Confederacy and promising to them emancipation as a reward for faithful military service, among other things said: "The policy of engaging to liberate the negro on his discharge after service faithfully rendered, seems to me preferable to that of granting immediate manumission, or that of retaining him in servitude. If this policy should commend itself to the judgment of Congress, it is suggested, that in addition to the duties hereinbefore performed by the slave, he might be advantageously employed as a pioneer and engineer laborer, and, in that event, that the number should be augmented to forty thousand. Beyond this limit and these employments it does not seem to me desirable, under existing circumstances, to go. . . .

"The subject is to be viewed by us, therefore, solely in the light of policy and our social economy. When so regarded, I must dissent from those who advise a general levy and arming of the slaves for the duty of soldiers. Until our white population shall prove insufficient for the armies we require and can afford to keep in the field, to employ as a soldier the negro, who has merely been trained to labor, and, as a laborer, the white man accustomed from his youth to the use of arms, would scarcely be deemed wise or advantageous by any: and this is the question now before us. But should the alternative ever be presented of subjugation, or of the employment of the slave as a soldier, there seems no reason to doubt what should then be our decision."

Mr. Davis admits that subsequent events advanced his views from a prospective to a present need for the enrollment of negroes to take their places in the ranks of the armies of the Confederacy. He believed, under proper conditions, that Southern negro slaves might be relied on in battle. When brought before a committee, General Robert E. Lee advocated the measure. Congress still debated and hesitated. Finally, a bill authorizing the President to ask for and accept from their owners such a number of able-bodied negro men as he might deem expedient, passed the House,

**Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, vol. I., p. 515.

but was lost in the Senate by one vote. After special instructions from the General Assembly of their State, the senators from Virginia, who had strongly opposed the act, withdrew their opposition, and the bill passed. It contained an amendment, however, prohibiting the calling out of more than twenty-five per cent. of the male slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. This enactment had been so long delayed that there remained no time for testing the efficacy of its provisions. The Confederacy was on the verge of its fall, and no opportunity was afforded for enlisting, training, and placing in the field the able-bodied negro slaves of the South. What effect this measure, if authorized at an earlier date, would have exerted upon the army, upon the people, and upon the fortunes of the Confederacy, can only be conjectured. What influence this practical manumission of the enslaved race would have produced upon the European mind, and what substantial sympathy might have been evoked in behalf of the Confederate government, will never be known. Certain it is that if there was any virtue in the suggestion, if any good could reasonably have been anticipated, the Confederate Congress was too tardy in authorizing the experiment. When its sanction was accorded, affairs were already *in extremis*. We cannot resist the impression that even if the experiment had been fairly tried there would have ensued no material prolongation of the struggle. It was at best a desperate expedient. Even in the teeth of Spartan heroism, and endurance the most remarkable, victories are generally won by those possessing heavier battalions, weightier munitions, and superior resources. Modern wars among civilized people savor less of chance than those waged in former times, and are largely decided by surpassing equipment and the preponderance of force. The odds were all against the Confederacy, and the wonder is that the new-born nation withstood so long and so bravely the tremendous assaults launched against it.

If our information be correct, General Robert E. Lee, while regarding the enlistment of negro slaves as an experiment, favored the suggestion as born of an emergency most pressing, and advised that every precaution should be observed which might tend to render the service agreeable both to the master and the servant. Compulsory measures he deprecated, and counseled that, as far as it was practicable, owners and slaves should be induced to act voluntarily. If coercion should be resorted to at the outset, he was inclined to the opinion that the owners would, in many cases, express dissatisfaction, and refrain from offering their best slaves. The influence which they would be capable of exerting upon their negroes, if misdirected, would seriously interfere with the success of the experiment,

causing such slaves as might be mustered into the service to approach their military duties with apprehension and reluctance, creating on their part a disposition to desert upon an emergency, and engendering in the minds of such as remained at home, liable to future draft, a readiness to abscond upon the first intimation of the approach of the recruiting officer.

As the Federals had appropriated the name of "Colored Troops," it was thought that "African Troops" or the "African Army" might be employed as a suitable designation for such negro forces as should be introduced into the Southern service. The whole affair proceeded no further than devising plans for the utilization of this abnormal element, and, so far as we are informed, colored soldiers with arms in their hands were never borne upon the rolls of the Confederate armies.

When the army of Tennessee, then under the leadership of General Joseph E. Johnston, was concentrated in and around Dalton, Georgia, at the instance of Major-General P. R. Cleburne,—the Stonewall Jackson of the West, as brave and capable an officer as ever followed the Red Cross to the field, and who, subsequently, at the battle of Franklin, sealed with his life-blood his devotion to the Confederate cause,—on the 2d of January, 1864, occurred a memorable convention of officers. They assembled to discuss the propriety and consider the necessity of memorializing the Confederate Congress and the Confederate authorities on the subject of enlisting, drilling, and introducing able-bodied negro slaves as soldiers into the Confederate army. In the advocacy of such a measure General Cleburne had been very earnest and persistent. A carefully prepared address reviewing the situation of the country, pointing out the causes of the existing depression, analyzing the sources of supply upon which the Confederacy might reasonably rely, and conjecturing the effect which would be produced both upon the Federal government and foreign powers by the practical manumission of Southern slaves and the introduction of able-bodied males from among them into the Confederate armies, was then delivered by him and submitted for serious comment and discussion. It embodied the sentiments of such of the officers of the army of Tennessee as favored the scheme and regarded its prompt and general inauguration as the only probable means of retrieving the waning fortunes and strengthening the military power of the Confederacy. Upon the conclusion of this address an animated discussion ensued. While some expressed sympathy with the plan suggested, and admitted the potency of the arguments offered in its support, General Cleburne's propositions did not command the approval of a majority of the officers present. In the face of this dominant opinion he apparently did not deem it worth the while to pursue the matter any

further. His disappointment was manifest. He had hoped, by concert of action on the part of the officers of the army of the West, to exert a powerful influence in shaping the public thought on this momentous question, and to assist in persuading the Confederate Congress to favor the arming and mobilization of the able-bodied Southern slaves.

Whether fortunately or unfortunately for the future of the Southern States, neither the soldiers in the field nor the citizens at home, as a general rule, favored the project; and when the Confederate Congress, moved by the exigency, enacted a law providing for the employment of negro slaves in the military service of the Confederacy, matters were so evidently *in extremis*, and the fall of the Confederate government was so close at hand, that no opportunity was afforded for testing an experiment which, to say the least, savored of desperation and betokened the early abolition of slavery.

In the light of subsequent events, the tenacity with which the Southern owner endeavored to shield his slave from danger, and the aversion he exhibited to exposing him to the perils of camp, march, and battle, may appear surprising. But an explanation will be found in the fact that he realized in the enlistment of the negro as a soldier an extinction of slavery within the limits of the Confederacy. That institution had been so long and so thoroughly interwoven with the domestic economy, the comfort, and the traditions of Southern society, that the common thought revolted at any suggestion which contemplated its eradication either proximate or remote. The masses were not prepared for such a sacrifice.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, June 27, 1886.

AT THE "DEATH ANGLE"

MAY 12, 1864

The movement across the Rapidan had been successfully accomplished; the Army of the Potomac, 120,000 strong, with its immense trains of artillery and supplies, had advanced in the face of an active and ably-commanded foe, and had reached the southerly side of the river without a mishap or delay. In their front was the dreaded Wilderness, and, while entangled in its forest roads, Lee had forced terrible battle upon them, and two days of bitter strife seemed to have made no impression upon his stronghold. But Grant, with that grim determination and push so lamentably lacking in previous commanders, proposed to flank what he was unable to break through, and the astonished Federal Army was ordered *forward* instead of backward.

All night long the forest arches resounded with the clatter of cavalry and the tramp of infantry, the heavy rumble of artillery trains and the rattling of baggage wagons, as the weary columns pressed on toward Richmond. But the indomitable Lee, divining the purpose of the movement, kept equal pace upon the shorter line, and at Spottsylvania, on chosen ground, threw his cavalry in front of the Federal advance and once more hurled down the gauntlet. The topography of the country, surrounding this second battle-ground of the campaign, differed from that of the Wilderness in that it was more open and undulating; the forests, although dense, were broken here and there by open fields, giving better opportunities for attack or defense and allowing the use of artillery, but, still, it was a position extremely difficult for combined operations. The Confederate lines were upon high ground in somewhat the shape of the letter V, and were protected, in front, by heavy slashings and formidable abatis, and in the rear a strong second line of intrenchments gave added protection and support.

Behind these formidable defenses was the undaunted Army of Northern Virginia, less than half the Federal numbers, but exceedingly tough-grained and filled with all the *esprit de corps* which ever inspired that remarkable body of troops. Grant could easily have flanked this position, rendering it untenable and forcing Lee from his vantage-ground, but, unwilling to believe that the inferior force in his front could withstand the

onslaught of his powerful battalions, he undertook to annihilate Lee by breaking his center.

From May 8th to the 11th the fighting was more or less continuous and spirited as the Federals endeavored to find the vulnerable point of the Confederate position, the charge of May 10th, commanded by Colonel Upton, being the most brilliant operation, although productive of no real benefit. On the afternoon of May 11th, General Hancock was ordered to prepare the Second Corps for an assault upon the apex of the angle, finally considered to be the key to the position, and in the storm and intense darkness of the night he withdrew his command, without the knowledge of the enemy, from the right to the center and formed for the attack. The assailing column was Barlow's Division, with the First and Fourth Brigades in the front line and the Second and Third Brigades in the second, the other divisions under Birney, Mott, and Gibbon supporting to right and left. Early on the morning of the 12th, under cover of a dense fog, they started up the slope with silent, rapid tread; they surprised and captured the Confederate pickets, and, with cheers, broke into double-quick. The frowning works were instantly lined with startled infantry, but nothing could stop the impetus of the charge, and the Second Corps rushed through and over the abatis to the top of the parapets; the places of the fallen were filled at once, and the excited lines surged over the works carrying all before them. Four thousand men, thirty stands of colors, and over twenty pieces of artillery were captured and sent to the rear, and onward swept the mass, with yells and shouts of victory, toward Spottsylvania Court-House.

Now was the golden opportunity, Lee's center was broken, the famous "last ditch" was close at hand, but, as in so many other critical moments, supports which could have followed, in plenty, failed to receive the orders to advance, and the Second Corps, with its lines confused and demoralized by the wild excitement of the charge, was left alone to bear the brunt of Lee's blows. The Confederates were in their path, massed on the second line, and deadly musketry and raking artillery fire checked all further advance. The victorious, but disorganized Federal lines, were driven steadily back, till, at last, they formed outside the works so gloriously won in the early dawn. The veteran brigades of Ewell's Corps were hurriedly thrown forward to retake the "salient" and western line of the angle, and Longstreet and Hill poured in all the men they could spare. The fiery Mahone pushed his famous troops into the breach, followed by the fighting divisions of Gordon and Wilcox. All that a commander could do Lee tried to do to retrieve the disaster of the morning. Warren

and Burnside were powerless to draw his attention from the captured angle. It was a Gettysburg reversed, and Lee from his concentrated position easily brushed aside every attempt of Grant's lines to relieve the pressure upon the Second Corps. On the Federal side divisions and brigades of the Sixth Corps were moved in to reinforce, and began attack close up to the angle. Batteries were posted which kept up incessant fire upon the advancing foe; other batteries were run up close to the works and poured in an enfilading fire of grape and canister, but suffered terribly in men and horses. All day long and far into the night the deadly struggle continued around the spot to be forever known in history as the "death angle."

Lee must hold back the Federal columns from his center or be annihilated, and he spurred his brave but exhausted army up to the work. In five successive charges did he endeavor to push back the gallant veterans from their hold on the angle, but they maintained their position in spite of all he could do.

Piled-up logs alone separated the combatants and these were being rapidly splintered into chips by the concentration of the furious storm of shot and shell, bullet and canister. Men fought almost hand to hand, firing, and stabbing with the bayonet, in each other's faces; once the Confederate flag floated out with the wind until it could be grasped by a Federal soldier; the color-bearer rose to his feet clinging to the staff and the Federal arose clinging to the flag; with disengaged hands they sought each other's life; both sides ceased firing to watch the conflict till finally the flag was torn from its staff and the victor, with shattered arm, was hailed with cheers. For twenty hours death held high carnival about this bloody spot. The ground was literally covered with the slain, on both sides of the works; the incessant fire tore and mangled them. The Confederate trenches were slippery with blood, and the bodies piled up several deep in them had to be removed more than once to allow the living space to work. The charges and countercharges, the cheers and yells, the roar of artillery and the never-ending rattle of musketry with Heaven's deep-voiced thunders rolling above the pouring rain, made a scene around this historic angle which has perhaps never been witnessed in warfare.

From dawn till dusk and from dusk till midnight the terrible tempest of shot and shell shrieked through the forests and plowed up the fields, but both sides held on to their positions with a courage nothing could subdue.

Behind these works stood the celebrated oak upon whose trunk the Confederate colors were lashed, causing it to become the center of such a

furious rain of lead, that, although twenty-two inches in diameter, it was literally cut in twain, and falling injured many of the foe. This event stands unparalleled in the annals of war and will ever bear unquestioned witness to the hurricane of missiles that swept this fatal spot.

Near this angle also stood the abandoned gun which the Confederates determined should not be carried away; scarring its sides, gnawing away its spokes, shattering its hubs, the merciless bullets kept guard around it. No venturesome dash from either side could move it from its position. All other attempts proving futile a battery was, at last, posted covering the piece and a rapid cannonade opened upon the enemy's riflemen. After a certain number of shots the firing was suddenly stopped and a team of horses quickly run out, attached to the piece, and it was brought in triumph to the Union lines before the enemy, seeking shelter behind the works, could recover from their astonishment.

Such was the terrific struggle around this famous angle. No such slaughter occurred in the entire war in so limited an arena; over eight thousand men yielding up life or limb on one side or the other of its parapets. In the darkness of midnight Lee withdrew to his second and still stronger line in the rear, and the "death-angle" with its bloody mementoes was left in Union hands. So closed the real struggle of Spottsylvania. It had been but two weeks since the Army of the Potomac broke camp by the banks of the Rapidan, but a loss of 35,000 men had shown the impossibility of forcing Lee from his positions by direct advance, and on May 19th the head of the column was again ordered to the left.

Chas. V. Hatch

A CANADIAN VIEW OF ANNEXATION

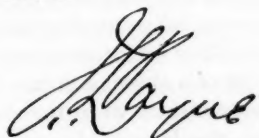
Prompted by a knowledge of our kinship, and sustained by the evidences of intimate commercial relationship, is the desire for the union of Canada and the United States; but I am wholly deceived if the general growth of national confidence and ambition in Canada is not firmly antagonistic to a change in that direction. Bitter political struggles we have, and in the controversies of opposing parties statements are made which are misunderstood to imply a lack of confidence in the present and future of our country. It is true, too, that the administration of governmental affairs over a country so vast in extent has imposed on our people no inconsiderable burden. The development of our resources, and the construction of needed public works, has entailed an outlay of money which five millions of people cannot feel rests lightly upon them; but it is wrong to draw the conclusions which Dr. Prosper Bender, of Boston, Massachusetts, has so forcibly set forth in his contributions to the *Magazine of American History*. The weight of debt and taxation is borne cheerfully, and on a fair comparison it is found to be lighter than any country similarly situated, and certainly no heavier than that of the United States. Less than six dollars per head of the population is not excessive taxation. Going deeper, however, than this, the forces which make up a vigorous civilization are felt to be strong, and with all the privileges which the American system of government presents, we feel that there is here an absence of that license in certain directions which it tolerates. I need not particularize. Surpassing these reasons, however, is the array of evidences of our material progress, so forcible and unmistakable, as to prevent even the suspicion that disintegration may begin. To present the more important of these in brief form will suffice. A railway running from ocean to ocean has been built within the past five years, and on both sides of that great band of iron are to be found the evidences of business activity and progress. Within seven years, \$350,000,000 have been placed in fixed capital, and for the five years ending with 1885 an annual average sum of \$10,585,196 has been invested under the provision of the Joint Stock Companies Act, in addition to the millions of which no accurate record is available. No other years before them stand out so prominently for commercial enterprise. The people have prospered. While industrial investments have multiplied, the lesson taught by the record of the savings banks is, that the working classes are rapidly rising in the scale of comfort and means. At the time of Confederation (1867), the deposits in savings banks of all kinds in Canada aggre-

gated but \$4,687,166; while at the close of last year they had reached \$57,678,258. In the decennial period ending with 1881, the census returns show that the amount of capital invested in manufactories increased from \$77,694,020 to \$165,302,623, and the number of employees from 187,942 to 254,935. We have \$600,000,000 of paid-up capital in railways, and there are 10,300 miles of road in operation. This represents vast increases since Confederation. Our foreign trade, which stood at \$131,027,532 in 1868, has averaged \$212,300,315 for the past five years, and there is no reasonable cause for thinking the maximum has been reached. There are, rather, inspiring indications that the favorable attention of capitalists is being turned to Canada, as a field for investments. We have, for instance, our phosphate mines near this city, opened and worked by Americans, and in other avenues of trade the stimulation of foreign capital is distinctly felt. Then, too, the fact that the desirable free lands of the United States have been taken up, and immigration thither is declining, gives strong hopes for our excellent North-west and British Columbia as the basin into which must flow great currents of moving population. We see, also, that at the rate their forests are disappearing, the people of the United States, before a generation has passed, must become our customers for inestimable quantities of timber.

I need not go further. Enough must have been said to show the ground upon which our people, among whom an increasing Canadian spirit is found, base their opposition to any movement looking toward annexation. Added to this is the knowledge of rapidly accumulating social comforts. Although it seems but yesterday that our fathers hewed their homes out of the primeval forest, there are already felt the influences of associations which attract and endear us to the land which we call our country and the spot we call our home. One other influence must be acknowledged. In the burning of that old spirit found in Byron's lines:

"Freedom's battle once begun
Descends from bleeding sire to son."

The memory of ancestral wrongs inspires a potent opposition on the part of many thousands to any other than a commercial alliance with our admirable and excellent neighbors to the southward.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. A. Hayes". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal line extending from the bottom of the name.

OTTAWA, CANADA, *June*, 1886.

LOUIS XVI. AND MARIE ANTOINETTE

No history of America during the revolutionary and formative period of our Republic is complete without a clear analysis of the singular influence exerted over passing events by the king and queen of France, in gorgeous halls across the water. We are much more frequently reminded of the fact that the American struggle for independence helped to sow the whirlwind of discontent in France which swept away the king and queen, and even the throne itself, than that our own success in the war of the Revolution was made possible by the act of that same unhappy sovereign who paid the penalty for his good intentions with his life.

In the beginning of the summer of 1774, the same day that the Boston Port Bill went into effect suspending indefinitely the cheerful industry of that prosperous New England capital, Louis XVI., not quite twenty years old, and the still more youthful Marie Antoinette found themselves at the head of the French nation. They had already been married four years, and it is not to be supposed that either of the young wedded pair had given any too much time to the acquisition of wisdom. Reared in one of the most corrupt of courts, Louis XVI., strange as it may seem, had grown up temperate, honest, and moral: and never was queen more captivating than Marie Antoinette at eighteen. To the golden hair and the dazzling fairness of complexion of a northern beauty she united the grace and animation of the south; her eyes were a bright, penetrating blue, her face oval, her forehead high and clear, and the pride and sweetness of her smile illumined every feature, while the elegance and stateliness of her manners added immensely to her charms. The new king was not handsome. His face in profile, was on the contrary, extremely commonplace, a receding forehead, aquiline nose, and double chin, giving an expressionless effect. He blinked with his eyes and was painfully near-sighted. His figure was short and stout—inclined to corpulency—he waddled in his walk, was awkward in style, untidy in dress save on state occasions, and was perpetually napping in his chair or carriage. One of his notable habits was to allow no interruption to his meals, and he partook of them after the manner of a starving man. Even on that terrible morning at Versailles, at the very instant when the mob was breaking down the doors of the royal palace, the king of France calmly ate his breakfast, fearing it might be

*marie antoinette*

inconvenient to do so at a later hour. He was not, however, without many excellencies of heart and character. The legacy handed down to him through a succession of kings for eight hundred years was unfitness to govern a people who held virtue in no respect—who could only be ruled with an iron hand. He did not rival his royal ancestors in will-power, warlike achievements, or wickedness; but he had the glory of being surpassed by few if any of them in virtue. He was a king who would have been adored in peaceful times. He was generous, humane, and religious, though timid and irresolute. With his reign was ushered in the new right to criticise sovereigns. An intellectual revolution was the precursor of the

political revolution. The writers of the day were merciless in their attacks, and conversation ran in the same groove. The finances of France had been left in a desperate condition by Louis XV., and the disjointed state of public affairs, in every aspect, was the common talk of all. It wanted but a spark to ignite the flame. Louis XVI. was but little more than a boy, inexperienced, and uninstructed in affairs of state. He tried to ease the burdens that were weighing heavily upon the people, whom he really loved; and for a time he was greatly beloved in return. Various reforms were projected, and the most offensive feudal services and imposts abolished in spite of the opposition of the courtiers, the nobility, and higher order of the clergy. The king set the example of economy by reducing his individual household expenses. But his ministers were failures; and his political instincts were dull. He could not discern whither he was drifting. Many an older and wiser man has been afflicted with similar blindness. The court appeared to be the real government of France; the king was harassed by the bitter contentions of political factions, and grew prematurely old. In the meantime and while the state was tottering on the verge of bankruptcy, Louis XVI. gave his cordial support to the American war, which added 1,500,000,000 livres to the irreparable deficit in the disordered finances of the nation. This was the pivot on which the fortunes of the king turned—the fiery spark that, smoldering for a time, exploded the volcano. A few months later hostilities were declared between France and Great Britain. For the worse than empty treasury of France the king saw, or thought he saw, two remedies—restriction of expenses, which the queen and the court opposed, and taxing the privileged class, which the Parliament opposed; he hoped to find a third expedient by appealing to the people, and unwittingly added fuel to the kindling fire.

Had Louis XVI. lived either before or after the French Revolution, he would have been appreciated. He liked books and solid books; he was a great student of geography, and his cabinet was hung with maps and charts of the whole world; he had a passion for mechanical works, and for whatever concerned commerce or the sea. He was industrious, quick of comprehension, and had a fine memory. His reading was well selected, and on historical matters he had written some before he ascended the throne, and was familiar with chronological details. He took great interest in the mechanical part of printing, and when twelve years old printed himself thirty-five copies of *maximes morales et politiques tirées de Télémaque*, which he had collected from Fénelon's romance: and he made also a translation of some portions of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* which was published under the name of *Le Clerc de Sept Chênes*. He excelled

in clock-work and lock-making, and kept all the time-pieces of Versailles in order; he also had a room fitted up with the apparatus needed, where he would file, turn, drill, forge, hammer, and polish iron under the instruction of a blacksmith named Gammin. "The king used to hide from the queen and the court to forge and file with me," said this man in his later years. Furthermore, Louis XVI. had an overmastering desire that the world should be made better for his having lived in it. He wished to become the patron of learning, and his delight was in deeds of charity and benevolence. In some letters recently found in the collection of Mr. Henry T. Drowne, of New York city, we have a glimpse of the estimation in which he was held in this country through his good-natured tenderness for American institutions. These letters were addressed to the Honorable H. St. John, French consul for the States of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and were written in 1783, by Solomon Drowne, M.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, who was a Fellow and Secretary of the Rhode Island college, now Brown University: the following extracts speak for themselves: "I have read, with much satisfaction, several French medical and chirurgical productions; and from the perusal of such a work as the *Journal de Medicine*, etc., promise myself not only amusement, but much improvement. This is another instance of the philanthropy and generosity of the truly clement and illustrious *Louis XVI.* who, not content with healing the political wounds of America, is now liberally diffusing wine and oil, for the relief of personal distresses, and rescuing from the bed of languishing disease thousands who are ready to perish. He, by doing thus, at the same time promotes the healing art; and a more philosophic practice of medicine certainly confers greater obligations on mankind than he who by all the horrors of War adds some few wretched provinces to his domain. It is owing to the depravity of human nature that the splendour and loud acclaim attendant on these *supposed* heroic feats do not, in a much higher degree, await those more Godlike deeds?" The second letter evidently refers to a favor requested in behalf of Rhode Island college: "Convinced that, next to the political happiness of this country, the best interests of American literature are nearest your heart; and that you are not only the patron, but establisher of our fame in science & philosophy, we promise ourselves the favour of your influence to have laid before his most *Christian Majesty* the inclosed Address, the contents of which you will learn from the open Copy. That we may not appear without reason for our present attempt, we have to mention, it is in consequence of undoubted information that the illustrious *Louis XVI.*, agreeably to his wonted munificence, has proffered impor-

tant literary favours to Yale College in y^e State of Connecticut, which the Corporation of that Institution thought proper to decline."

The tastes and employments of Marie Antionette were quite the opposite of those of her royal husband, but he was never unkind to her in consequence. If weak in dealing with his ministers through the kindness of his nature, his deference to the queen was for the better reason that he was devotedly fond of her. He remarked to her one day, "You love flowers. I will present to you a whole bouquet. I give you little Trianon." She was delighted, and henceforward for several years this little place was her Arcadia. She had her Swiss cottage and model farm, and when the spirit moved her would dress herself like a farmer's wife, and with her maids of honor milk the cows and cook the meals. The king found little pleasure in such whimsical sports, and yet would occasionally join in them. Marie Antionette planned a quaint masquerade at her farm on one occasion, in which she assigned the post of miller to the king, and was joyfully surprised when she found him grinding grain, clad in white garments, a white cap towering above his smiling, meal-powdered face, and pausing every now and then to play the blacksmith by fitting little screws and springs into the great clumsy mill-wheel.

But presently the anti-Austrian party began to accuse the queen of frivolity, then of extravagance. Her declaration that she had no court at Trianon, was only there as a private person and a land-owner; that the king had given her that bit of ground that she might have a little realm of her own, was ignored; her charming entertainments were called "orgies," and her gayety misconstrued; she was criticised for walking abroad without hoops, and for going to the opera ball while the king went to bed; she was spoken of in the same breath as a lover of finery and a strong-minded political counselor of the king; in short, her sun of happiness had scarcely arisen when it disappeared under a black cloud. And, after all, the chief offense of poor Marie Antoinette was that of being an Austrian.

The remarkable change that came over the social life of France during the reign of Louis XVI. was due in a great measure to the democratic notions of the queen herself, who disliked etiquette, and helped to render familiarity fashionable. Her manners were inartificial, and few approached her for whom she had not a kind, or at least a courteous word. She abhorred flattery, and was generous to a fault. She founded a hospital for the aged and poor, and a lying-in asylum; and she built cottages for the accommodation of the humble. The decencies of life were much more strictly observed than in the preceding reign, and a better class of literature, however critical, took its rise. Even the costume was improved.

From the very first Marie Antoinette was interested in the cause of America; and without in any sense comprehending its possible issues, she ultimately made it the fashion in the brilliant French Court. When Dr. Franklin appeared in Paris, he found that his scientific reputation had preceded him, and that he was regarded as a person of importance. But from the hour he was ushered into the presence of the queen, in 1778, and invited to stand by her side that she might converse with him as opportunity offered, he was a star of the first magnitude in the French mind. Marie Antoinette was then twenty-two, the same age as the bride of President Cleveland; Dr. Franklin was seventy-two, portly, and benign. Nothing could have been more becoming than the plain black velvet suit he wore, with snowy ruffles at wrist and bosom, white silk stockings and silver buckles. The absence, however, of wig and sword, the absolute court requisites, inspired the queen (whose soul was so pestered with forms in those very years) with keenest admiration. She liked the effrontery with which she imagined he must have passed the chamberlain of the court, and her attentions to him were all the more gracious and flattering for that reason. The Court following her lead was captivated with the grand magician who had separated the suffering colonies from Great Britain. Franklin was everywhere the observed of all observers; his portraits went into every house; there were Franklin snuff-boxes, Franklin chairs, Franklin stoves, Franklin dishes, Franklin ornaments, and Franklin furniture of every kind.

As the years rolled on Marie Antionette grew prematurely sedate, haughty, and resolute; and when all France seemed on a swift canter to destruction, she was quick to perceive what the king lost by his mistaken humanity. But in the midst of her severest trials she was unselfish, magnanimous, and heroic. She tried to inspire the king with her own energetic will, and when she failed was never heard to utter one word of reproach. Upon her all the anger, the exasperation, the rage of the French people concentrated. Of all the acts of the French Revolution—an event unparalleled in the history of nations—none cast on it so much dishonor as the execution of Marie Antionette. From the moment of the king's death she was nothing, and her immolation was unjustifiable, brutal beyond expression. The motive was neither principle nor love of liberty that actuated her persecutors, and their victim was a powerless and defenseless woman.

Martha J Lamb

MINOR TOPICS

THE AGES OF MILITARY COMMANDERS

BY JAMES G. BLAINE

The officers who led the Union Army throughout all the stages of the civil conflict were in the main young men. This feature has been a distinguishing mark in nearly all the wars in which the American people have taken part, and, with a few notable exceptions, has been the rule in the leading military struggles of the world. Alexander the Great died in his thirty-second year. Cæsar entered upon the Conquest of Gaul at forty. Frederick the Great was the leading commander of Europe at thirty-three. Napoleon and Wellington, born the same year, fought their last battle at forty-six years of age. On the exceptional side Marlborough's greatest victories were won when he was nearly sixty (though he had been brilliantly distinguished at twenty-two), and in our own day the most skillful campaign in Europe was under the direction of Von Moltke when he was in the seventieth year of his age.

Washington took command of the Continental Army at forty-three. Lafayette was a major-general at twenty. Nathaniel Greene was a general officer in the military establishment of the Revolution at thirty-three, and entered upon his memorable campaign in the South at thirty-eight. Winfield Scott was but twenty-eight when he commanded at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. Macomb was thirty-two when he gained the famous victory over Sir George Prevost at Plattsburg. Jackson was forty-seven when he won the decisive battle over Pakenham at New Orleans. On the other hand, Taylor was sixty-three when he conquered at Buena Vista, and Scott was sixty-one when he made his celebrated march from Vera Cruz to the capital. Scott enjoys the rare distinction of having held high and successful command in two wars, which were a full generation of men apart. In 1847, he commanded in Mexico the sons of those officers who aided in his brilliantly successful campaign against the British on the borders of Canada in 1814.

At the opening of the Civil War, General Scott again assumed command, but his seventy-five years pressed heavily upon him, and he soon gave way to younger men who came rapidly forward with patriotic ardor and worthy ambition. Nearly all the graduates of the United States Military Academy who achieved distinction were in what might be termed their middle youth, a few were in their twenties, none were old. General Grant won his campaign of the Tennessee, and fought the battles of Henry, Donaldson, and Shiloh, when he was thirty-eight years of age. Sherman entered upon his onerous work in the South-west when he was forty-one, and accomplished the march to the sea when he was forty-four.

Thomas began his splendid career in Kentucky when he was forty-three, and fought the critical and victorious battle of Nashville when he was forty-six. Sheridan was but thirty-three when he confirmed a reputation, already enviable, by his great campaign of 1864 in the Shenandoah Valley; Meade won the decisive battle of Gettysburg when he was forty-seven. McClellan was but thirty-five when he succeeded General Scott in command of the army. McDowell was forty-five when he fought the first battle of magnitude in the war. Buell was forty-two when he joined his forces with Grant's army on the second day's fight at Shiloh. Pope was scarcely over forty when he attained the highest credit for his success in the South-west. Hancock was forty-one when he approved himself one of the most brilliant commanders in the army by his superb bearing on the field of Spottsylvania. Hooker was forty-six when he assumed command of the army of the Potomac. General Schofield was thirty-four when he commanded with signal ability and success in the battle of Franklin. John Reynolds was forty-three when he fell at the head of his corps in the first day's fight at Gettysburg. Rosecrans was forty-two when he gained the important victory at Stone River. Burnside was thirty-seven when he made the admirable record of his North Carolina campaign. Howard was thirty-two when he was assigned to the command of a corps, and only a year older when he succeeded McPherson in the command of the Army of the Tennessee. McPherson was thirty-five when he gave up his heroic life on the bloody field before Atlanta. Slocum was an able corps commander at thirty-two. William F. Smith was thirty-eight when he handled his division with consummate skill at White Oak Swamp. Joseph J. Reynolds was a major-general before he was forty. Hazen was thirty-four when he led in the important capture of Fort McAllister. McKenzie, Custer, Kilpatrick, and Ames, had each won his star before he had passed his twenty-sixth year. The only West Point man who became conspicuous in the command of troops after he was fifty years of age was David Hunter.

General Logan, to whom is conceded by common consent the leading reputation among volunteer officers, and who rose to the command of an army, went to the field at thirty-five. General Butler was forty-two when he was placed at the head of the army of the Gulf, and began his striking career in Louisiana. General Banks was forty-four when with the rank of major-general he took command of the Department of Maryland. Garfield was a major-general at thirty-one, with brilliant promise as a soldier, when he left the field to enter Congress. Frank Blair at forty-one was a successful commander of a division in the arduous campaign which ended with the fall of Vicksburg. Jacob D. Cox had achieved his reputation in the field at thirty-four. Sickles was forty-one, when, desperately wounded, he was borne from the head of his corps at Gettysburg. Cadwallader Washburn, in his forty-third year, was in command of an important district in the South-west. Rawlins was high in General Grant's confidence and favor at thirty, when he filled the important post of chief of staff. James B. Stedman was forty-

four when he received Mr. Lincoln's special encomium for bravery. Franz Sigel was in command of a corps before he was thirty-five. Crawford was thirty-three when his division did its noble work at Gettysburg. Chamberlain was thirty-four when he associated his name indelibly with the defense of Little Round Top. Corse was but twenty-nine when he held the pass at Altoona. Hawley did splendid service in the field at thirty-five, and rose rapidly to the rank of brigadier-general. Gresham had made his brave record at thirty-two, and bears wounds to attest his service. The McCooks were all young, all gallant, all successful. John Beatty was a brigadier-general at thirty-two. Robert Potter commanded a corps before he was thirty-seven. The only general of volunteers beyond fifty years of age who acquired special distinction was James S. Wadsworth, who in his fifty-seventh year fell in one of the most sanguinary battles of the war.—*Twenty Years of Congress*, vol. ii.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S STORY-TELLING

BY GEORGE W. JULIAN

During the month of January, 1863, I called with the Indiana delegation to see the President respecting the appointment of Judge Otto, of Indiana, as Assistant Secretary of the Interior. He was soon after appointed, but Mr. Lincoln then only responded to our application by treating us to four anecdotes. Senator Lane told me that when he heard a story that pleased him he took a memorandum of it and filed it away among his papers. He entered into the enjoyment of his stories with all his heart, and completely lived over again the delight he had experienced in telling them on previous occasions. When he told a particularly good story, and the time came to laugh, he would sometimes throw his left foot across his right knee, and clenching his foot with both hands and bending forward, his whole frame seemed to be convulsed with the effort to give expression to his sensations. His laugh was like that of the hero of *Sartor Resartus*, "a laugh of the whole man, from head to heel." I believe his anecdotes were his great solace and safeguard in seasons of severe mental depression. I remember that when I called on him on the 2d of July, 1862, at the time our forces were engaged in a terrific conflict with the enemy near Richmond, and everybody was anxious as to the result, he seemed quite as placid as usual, and at once yielded to his ruling passion for story-telling. If I had not known his peculiarities I should have pronounced him incapable of any deep earnestness of feeling; but his manner was so kindly, and so free from the ordinary crookedness of the politician and the vanity and self-importance of official position, that nothing but good-will was inspired by his presence.—*Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*. Edited by Allen Thorndike Rice.

AN ANECDOTE OF ANSON BURLINGAME

Translated from a French newspaper, by Levi Bishop

When the late Mr. Anson Burlingame was at Paris with the celebrated Chinese embassy, having become quite fatigued with public ceremony, he concluded one day to take a little private recreation in the country. With this view he went down to the sea-shore near Dieppe, where an intimate acquaintance of his by the name of Gudin, a celebrated painter, had a cottage residence. The next thing, as a matter of course, in such a locality, was to go out a-fishing, in which amusement the painter and the great ambassador were almost miraculously successful, taking, in a short time, a large quantity of various kinds of most excellent fish. The question then arose to determine what they should do with the fish. To eat or preserve them they could not, and they did not wish to throw them away; and the happy and humorous idea occurred to them—an idea which could have found a place only in great minds—to take the fish to Paris, and, as a capital piece of pleasantry, to sell them in the public market.

They accordingly purchased several baskets, which they filled, obtained transportation for them to the nearest railroad dépôt, loaded them on a car, and started for Paris on a freight train, about as well pleased as a couple of jolly fishermen would be, in going up to the great metropolis with a quantity of fresh fish from the coast of Normandy. They arrived at Paris about four o'clock in the morning, when the break of day began first to illumine the heights of Mont Martel and the lofty towers of Notre Dame. This was an admirable time to be the first on the market, in order to get the first sales of fish; and determined still to carry out their adventure, they hired a horse and cart, loaded on their fish, and started for the grand Halle, near the Place Saint Gustache, being the principal fish market of Paris. In their walk through the streets, beside their cart of fish, many were the hearty laughs they had, and which were had at their expense, in view of their ridiculous exhibition; and they could not resist the temptation of indulging in all sorts of speculations, like the maid and the milk-pail, of Esop, as to the amount they should realize for their fish, all fresh and scarcely done floundering from the English Channel. But although their fish were very fine, they concluded, on the whole, not to be too avaricious in this their first speculation, and to sell at moderate rates, so as to let the whole affair pass off with the utmost good humor. They arrived soon at the market, where they proceeded to unload their fish on the sidewalk, and to prepare for the sales.

Here began the troubles of our gay adventurers. It is a very easy and pleasant thing for great men to fish, but to sell fish is a very different affair. In laying their plans they had entirely overlooked the legal regulations of the market, which all the fish dealers well understood, and which they were interested to see enforced; and they had also encumbered the sidewalk with their baskets of fish, in violation of the city ordinances. Thus situated, they found themselves all at once sur-

rounded, much to their surprise, with an excited crowd of market men and women. They were hissed and hooted ; the women poured on them their choicest Billingsgate ; they were jostled, pushed, and pulled about in the rudest manner ; and they were even threatened with more violent treatment, with every appearance that the threats would be executed on the spot.

Totally dumbfounded, and even quite alarmed, the celebrated painter and the distinguished ambassador of China to all the rest of the world, took to their heels and ran, amid derisive shouts from the multitude which had been attracted by the tumult, and made their escape to a neighboring street. This afforded the market people a rare opportunity to take their vengeance on the fish, which had been brought all the way from Dieppe, and which had been thus incontinently abandoned. And this they proceeded at once to do as the legitimate spoils of the victors, carrying away in a few moments everything, even to the baskets. All this while the painter and ambassador stood afar off, lifting up their eyes on the scene of devastation, but not daring to interpose so much as a gentle remonstrance, even diplomatically, in defense of their rights and privileges. They were, however, glad to notice that the cart which they had hired was still left, though completely empty, with not a sardine left in it ; and as for the horse, he stood feeding on cabbage-leaves, with most profound and provoking philosophy, as if nothing of an extraordinary character had taken place.

"Very well," said Gudin, when he had recovered himself sufficiently to speak, "I am very glad we have escaped as well as we have." "Very well," said Mr. Burlingame, with his accustomed coolness, "*allons maintenant déjeuner*;" that is to say, "let us now go and take breakfast."

Thus ended a fishing excursion which began most happily in Dieppe, and ended most lamentably, as well as most ludicrously, at Paris. It is not stated whether, on the whole, the principal actors felt like relating their adventures to their friends or not.—*Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. V.*

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

REMINISCENCES OF LADY HARRIET ACLAND

[As anything, which serves to illustrate the character of the lady whom Baroness Riedesel calls "the loveliest of women," will be prized, I take pleasure in laying before the readers of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* the following reminiscences never before in print, and which were lately sent me kindly by Mr. T. Constable of Otley, Yorkshire, Eng.* My thanks are also due to Mr. Clements R. Markham, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society of London, for first telling me of the existence of these papers. —WILLIAM L. STONE.]

The Original Manuscript.

Lady Harriet Acland and her family, on our arrival in Somerset, resided at Pixton, upon the Ex, about twenty miles from Taunton. This amiable woman had lost all her children but one, the present Lady Porchester, who was also very delicate. As they were intimates of Lady Ann and Miss Simpsons of Bradley, we were early known to them, to our great advantage ; for their kind and generous attentions upon all occasions not only from themselves, but from all their connections, proved a source of the most gratifying satisfaction. Lady Harriet Acland was a daughter of the Earl of Ilchester ; and as her virtuous courage, in aid of her wounded husband in America, has justly rendered her one of the most celebrated female characters of this Empire, and will hand down her memory to posterity, as an uncommon instance of pure conjugal affection ; so I may add here, for your sake, and whoever reads this, during the many years we had the honor of enjoying a little of her friendship and kind attentions, her whole life was a tissue of generous and benevolent actions, of which the following is a specimen with a thousand others, now in my possession. As her manners were simple, affable, and elegant, her letters are easy, and her writing round and beautiful, highly characteristic of that perfect freedom which accompanied her on all occasions.

Though attentive to all around her, the distressed poor were the daily and more immediate objects of her unbounded charities : and where age and infirmities had rendered human assistance of little avail, her benevolent visit seldom failed to soothe their anguish and render them contented and happy.

* The MS bears the following indorsement :

The within is an extract from a manuscript volume in my possession, written by Dr. Angus Macdonald of Taunton for the use of his niece, my late mother, being a history and review of the lives of himself and his late wife, who was a daughter of Robert Ord, formerly Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer of Scotland, and a lady of high character and some literary eminence. The doctor died in 1825, having practiced as a physician at Taunton upwards of 35 years.

(Signed)

T. CONSTABLE.

MANOR HOUSE, OTLEY, May 22, 1886.

"Lady H. Acland's compliments to Dr. Macdonald, and begs to know if there is any objection to the poor young woman at Kingston having anything to procure sleep, as she finds from the mother, the pain of the wounds prevents her getting sufficient rest to support her. Lady H. begs, if he has no objection to it, that he will order something for that purpose; which she wishes to be in the shape of pills, as she thinks there may be danger in having liquid laudanum in a house of that sort. Whatever the Doctor may have the goodness to order, she begs it may be put down to her account at Mr. Paynes, or elsewhere, as he chooses.

Lord and Lady Porchester have been prevented leaving Totten by Lady Porchester having a very troublesome sore throat, but she finds herself well enough this evening to intend setting out for Highclere to-morrow morning: in all other respects, she has been much the same as when D^r Macdonald saw her last. Lady H. is much obliged for the flower roots, and thinks many of the *Polyanthus*' extremely pretty."

Totten, Sunday night.

"Lady Harriet Acland's compliments to Dr. Macdonald, and will be obliged to him to send her the bill of what he was so good as to lay out for the poor girl at Kingston."

Totten Friday night.

"Lady Harriet Acland's compl^{ts} to Dr. Macdonald, as she knows he will be glad to hear of Lady Porchester, begs to inform him she had a very comfortable account of her this morning, and that she is with her little ones, safely arrived at Barnes."

Totten House May 2nd

"Lady Harriet Acland's compliments to Dr. Macdonald; she is quite ashamed of having so long delayed thanking him for the piece of money from Totten which he was so good as to send, and for which she is much obliged. She has the pleasure of informing Dr. Macdonald that her little grandson is perfectly recovered and thriving very fast with the milk of his fourth nurse."

In building Totten House for Lady H. Acland, who gave up her charming place of Pixton to Lord and Lady Porchester; in clearing out what had been the cheese-room of the Dyke family, from whom the Acland family inherited that fine estate, it was necessary to remove an immense large, round stone which stood in the middle of the room and which had served to press the cheese upon by the Tenants for the last sixty years or more. Two men were employed in removing this stone, and one of the men, a very shrewd fellow, observed, or rather observing a hollow below where the stone stood, he put down his hand and a number of large, round pieces of money immediately tingled. It was near dinner-time, and suspecting a treasure to be hid there, this crafty fellow told his companion they would

put off finishing that piece of work till next day, which was agreed to, and his fellow-workman was set to another piece of work at some distance. This man, however, continued all the afternoon in going from the house to a hedge under the pretense of a colic, and after work-people had left the place, he returned and carried away, it was affirmed, above £5000 of gold, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Charles I, Charles II, and James I. These were brought to a Mr. Foy, a silversmith, who bought many of them. The artful fellow would not tell where he got them, but finding they were gold went straight to London, and has never been heard of since. These were all in fine preservation, as if from the Mint. Mr. Foy let me have a two-guinea piece of Charles II, and that piece I presented to Lady Harriet Acland, who smiled and said it was very hard that the family should not have one relic of it. Most of the families in this part of Somerset were attached to the family of Stewart, and this money was supposed to have been lodged either to pay the Royal Troops sent to oppose the Duke of Mo'mouth, or for the use of the Duke of Monmouth himself. But as you know those in my possession are beautifully entire.*

Lord Porchester, now Earl of Carnarvon [father of the present or 4th Earl of Carnarvon, a great-grandson of Lady Harriet, and late Sec'y of State for Colonies and more recently Lord Lieutenant of Ireland], is a very amiable young man, with very considerable, genteel abilities; he built an excellent new house upon the romantic hill of Pixton, where he sets an example of improving that highly picturesque country, by building bridges, enclosing and making new and improving the old roads all around Pixton with the road leading to it, put one always in mind of the river Kinnel in Dinnfresshire.

Amiable, humane, good, generous Lady Harriet, how sincerely do I lament thy death.

A. Macdonald.

TAUNTON, 19 March, 1819.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM JAMES MONROE TO GOVERNOR SHELBY OF KENTUCKY

From the collection of Gordon L. Ford.

Department of War

January 30 1815

Sir:

The result of the Contest which is so gallantly sustained by our troops at New Orleans, under the command of Major General Jackson, is still doubtful.

The enemy seem to have directed their whole disposable force, there, in the

* This incident recalls one of a similar character in connection with the Saratoga Battle Ground. Some years since, a poor day laborer, while ploughing over the Great Redoubt, found a number of gold pieces—how many were never known. A few months after his find, however, he bought and paid for a fine farm near Saratoga Lake. Lady Harriet died, the widow of Major Acland, July 21, 1815.—W. L. S.

hope of getting possession of that City and the command of the Mississippi, that important outlet to all the productions of the Western Country.

I trust that the justice of our cause, aided by the bravery of our troops under the favor of a gracious providence, will finally prevail over these invaders and finally overwhelm them.

As the result, however, is uncertain, and the enemy may receive reinforcements, we ought not to be less attentive to the Succour of our brave countrymen, who have so nobly submitted to every degree of privation and encountered every danger. An army must be formed and sent to their aid without delay. If our troops should be repulsed, which we cannot believe, this army will unite with their brethren, renew the attack, and repel the intruders.

If the Contest should still be undecided, the reinforcement will turn the Scale. The President requests that you will immediately detach five Thousand of the Militia of your State for this service, preferring Volunteers if they can be obtained, and hasten them down the river with the greatest dispatch possible. Arrangements will be made by the Department for their transportation, of which you shall be advised. Everything will be in readiness to take the troops down by the time they are collected.

Let every man who has one bring his Rifle or Musket with him.

Our hundred and fifty thousand dollars in treasury notes will be remitted to you to pay for the expense of transportation already incurred for the troops now at New Orleans, and for the contingent expenses of those now required which you are hereby authorised to distribute to such agents of the Government as may be employed in paying, subsisting, transporting, and providing forage for the troops. Inclosed you will receive a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to me of this date, giving assurance that the Treasury notes will be soon forwarded, on the authority of which I trust that your Excellency will be enabled to obtain of the Banks without difficulty, on loan, by anticipation, any sum that will be necessary for those purposes.

It may be gratifying to your Excellency to know that a strong force is also ordered from Tennessee for this service.

I need not observe that should you understand that the enemy have been vanquished and either made prisoners of, or driven out, that the march of these troops will be suspended. Let not this expectation, however, prevent their collection and march as soon as possible for it.

I have the honor to be
Sir, respectfully
Your Excellency's
Most ob. Ser'vt
Jas. Monroe

His Excellency
Isaac Shelby
Governor of Kentucky.

NOTES.

THE MANUSCRIPT MARKET—One great difficulty with which the maker of manuscript is obliged to contend is, that his market is constantly overstocked. He is prone to think that if he furnishes a clever poem, a bright essay, a well-written, interesting story to a periodical, it will be certain of acceptance. But it will not be, unless accompanied by a well known name, which will carry the contribution independent of its merit. When a man has reputation, he can dispose of anything he may write. Before he has acquired reputation, his very best may go begging. The general reader's judgment of literature of any kind is commonly founded on the fame of the writer. He admires what he believes he ought to admire; he recognizes ability through the eyes of others; he adopts outside opinions as his own. The manuscript-maker seldom suspects that the periodical to which he has sent his contribution already has on hand a number of clever poems, bright essays, interesting stories, for which it cannot find room; consequently, if the editor tells him so, he is inclined to discredit the story. In truth, only a few of the initiated have any conception of the continually increasing number of manuscripts that flood every office in the land. The marvel is not that such a host are rejected, but that so many are printed. Not one out of twenty, prepared with care and confidence, ever sees the light of day. The inky mania rages universally, and is incapable of abatement.—*Junius Henry Brown, in Forum for July.*

HARAFORAS—In the interior of New

Guinea (the great link by which the Molucca Islands are connected with New Holland on the one hand and the Polynesian Archipelago on the other) is a race of *Haraforas*, who live in the hollows of trees, which they ascend by means of long notched pieces of timber. The agility of the youth of this race among the branches of trees is wonderful; they will climb and spring from one branch to the other almost with the ease of monkeys, and like those animals when attacked take to the trees as refuges, where they can defend themselves with great chance of success. Their habits are essentially the same as those of other tribes already named. Beccari bears testimony to the fact of having seen some of them wearing bracelets of human jaw-bones, and necklaces made of the spinal vertebræ which had evidently been subjected to the action of heat. Their habitations in the tree-tops were also decked with human skulls, which led to the belief that the taste of human flesh was not unknown to them.—*Anthropophagy Historic and Prehistoric, by General Charles W. Darling.*

SAN GABRIEL—To see at its best the loveliest part of Southern California, as improved, one must descend into its great valley of San Gabriel. The Sierra Madre Mountains that form its northern wall rise with a sudden sweep much higher above the valley than most of the great mountains of our country rise above the land at their feet, lifting one at once into a different climate and to a country where primeval wildness still reigns supreme. Few parts of the United

States are less known and less traversed than these great hills; yet they look down upon the very garden of all California.

Away up there the mountain trout flashes undisturbed in the hissing brook, and the call of the mountain quail rings from the shady glen where the grizzly bear yet dozes away the day, secure as in the olden time. From the bristling points where the lilac and manzanita light up the dark hue of the surrounding chaparral the deer yet looks down upon the plain from which the antelope has long been driven; while on the lofty ridges that lie in such clear outline against the distant sky the mountain sheep still lingers, safe in its inaccessible home.—*Southern California*, by Van Dyke.

THE BOSTON ROCKING-CHAIR—Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart., while at some lordly mansion in England, his

hostess had begged him to have made for her a Boston rocking-chair. Not wishing to disoblige her ladyship, he enlisted the services of the village carpenter, and a few days after had a contrivance not then to be found in fashionable mansions outside the nursery, placed in the apartment where the company at the castle assembled before dinner. With all due ceremony he led the amiable and much-honored lady to the chair, in which she ensconced herself and began to rock. Unfortunately, the rockers had not been constructed on scientific principles, and over it went, with many eyes to behold. Too well-bred to be affronted, she gathered herself up as best she could; and by taking it kindly put the admiral at his ease, and contributed to the gayety of the repast. Her husband, whose good services placed him in Parliament, did not abate them for the casualty.—*Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart.*, by Thomas C. Amory.

QUERIES

THE OLD BELL-MAN—*Editor Magazine of American History*: I take it that fair-minded and well-informed historians do not consider the account of the old bell-man ringing Independence Bell at Philadelphia on the Congress adopting the Declaration of Independence, a legend or a myth, and I would ask the favor through your able journal the name of the man that rang the old Liberty Bell on that occasion?

R. W. JUDSON
OGDENSBURG, N. Y., July, 1886

"MRS."—Was the word "Mrs." used formerly to designate a single woman as

well as one married? I found the following inscription on a tombstone in the old burying-ground in this place:

"Here Lyeth Interred ye Body of M^{rs} Sarah Gardiner daughter of M^r John & M^{rs} Sarah Gardiner of New London Dec^d (A Grand Daugh't of ye Hon.^{ble} Gurdon Saltonstall late Goverour of ye Collony of Connecticut Dec^d) who died Aug't 6 1745 Aetatis 26."

I may say that this lady was also the granddaughter of "His Excell'cy John Gardiner, Third Lord of ye Isle of Wight."

HARVARD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, July 10, 1886

WHERE WAS WASHINGTON?—*Editor Magazine of American History*: No intelligent and true patriot can be found in our land at the present day who does not admire the daring exploits and dashing heroism of the gallant General Anthony Wayne, and especially his courageous and successful assault upon Stony Point. We all admire his laconic and modest dispatch:

"Stony Point July 16th 79 2 o'clock A.M.
General Washington

The Fort and munitions are ours. The Officers and Soldiers acted like men determined to be free. Yours

A. Wayne "

Will some one please say, through your Magazine, where Washington was in waiting to receive this dispatch?

R. W. JUDSON

REPLIES

COLONEL BENJAMIN WALKER [XVI. 110]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Colonel Benjamin Walker was born in England in 1753; came to New York and became a merchant before the Revolution. Early in the war he was captain in the Second Regiment of New York Continentals. On the arrival of Baron Steuben, in 1777, Colonel Walker joined his staff. Speaking French, he was of great service to the baron. In 1781-2 the colonel belonged to General Washington's military family. August 3, 1789, President Washington, in his first list of nominations to the United States Senate, nominated Colonel Walker for Naval Officer for New York City, and his nomination (with others) was the first confirmed. Soon after Baron Steuben's death, Colonel Walker being one of his executors, removed to Utica, New York, to be near the baron's estate. In 1801-3 Colonel Walker was a member of Congress. I have never before heard that Colonel Walker was ever sent to France on any errand. He died in Utica, New York, January 13, 1818, and a few years ago his remains were removed with much parade to our beautiful Forest Hill Cemetery. M. M. J.
UTICA, NEW YORK

JOEL BARLOW AND THE SCIOTA LAND COMPANY [XVI. 110]—I can throw no light on the first part of this query, but as to the question: Who was Colonel Benjamin Walker? I can furnish this information: "Colonel Walker was a native of England, where he was born in 1753. He became a captain in the Second New York Regiment, in the Continental army, having left the mercantile business for a military life when the Revolution broke out. After serving as Steuben's favorite aid for about four years, he entered the military family of Washington in 1781. At the end of the war he was Governor Clinton's private secretary. He became a broker in New York, and was Naval Officer there during the administration of Washington. In 1797, he was appointed agent for the management of a large estate in Central New York; served a term in Congress from 1801, and died at Utica, in 1818."

WM. HARDEN

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

THE WAR-SHIP JASON [XVI. 111]—
Was commanded by De Clochette.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

OLDEST CHURCH EDIFICE [XV. 615]—Bruton parish church, Williamsburg, built in 1678, is the oldest church in Virginia. In its tower is the clock removed from the Capitol, and a bell of peculiar value and sound, presented by Queen Anne. Three communion services belong to this church, viz.: the old Jamestown service, the service presented by George III., and the service presented by Queen Anne. The church also contains the Jamestown font from which Pocahontas was baptized. The church-yard contains many handsome monuments with elaborate armorial designs.

BOTETOURT WALLER

AMERICANS ON GUARD [XVI. 111]—The following circular-letter from Washington to the colonels in camp at Morristown, New Jersey, and the order issued by him at Valley Forge, will probably answer this query:

“Morristown, April 30, 1777.

“Sir: I want to form a company for my guard. In doing this I wish to be extremely cautious, because it is more than probable that, in the course of the campaign, my baggage, papers, and other matters of great public importance, may be committed to the sole care of these men. This being premised, in order to impress you with proper attention in the choice, I have to request that you will immediately furnish me with four men of your regiment; and as it is my farther wish that this company should look well and be nearly of a size, I desire that none of the men may exceed in stature five feet ten inches, nor fall short of five feet nine inches, sober, young, active

and well made. When I recommend care in your choice, I would be understood to mean men of good character in the regiment, that possess the pride of appearing clean and soldierlike. I am satisfied there can be no absolute security for the fidelity of this class of people, but I think more likely to be found in those who have family connections in the country. *You will therefore send me none but natives*, men of some property if you have them. I must insist, that, in making this choice, you give no intimation of my preference of natives, as I do not want to create any invidious distinction between them and foreigners.”

“Headquarters,

“Valley Forge, March 17, 1778.

“One hundred men are to be annexed to the Guard of the Commander-in-Chief for the purpose of forming a corps to be instructed in the maneuvers necessary to be introduced into the army, and to serve as a model for the execution of them. As the General's Guard is composed of Virginians, the hundred draughts will be taken from the other States.

“Description of the men: Height, from five feet eight inches to five feet ten inches; age, from twenty to thirty years; robust constitution, well-limbed, formed for activity, men of established character for sobriety and fidelity. *They must be Americans born.*”

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

THE LEGENDARY ALAMO [XV. 521]—In the account of the fall of the Alamo in the June number of this Magazine, one of the most heroic incidents of our his-

tory, the writer seems to give almost full faith to the oft refuted fable of Francisco Ruiz, that 2,000 Mexican soldiers fell, killed and wounded, while striking down 180 defenders, and that the latter struck down more than 10 foemen each. Here we get beyond Thermopylæ, whether Xerxes did or not. The common assertion of legend, however, is not so audacious as Francisco Ruiz: it asserts that only 1,000 Mexicans fell in the assault. Now it is ascertained with tolerable certainty that the assaulting force did not exceed 2,500. If Ruiz tells the truth, only 500 of the stormers were left on foot. If common rumor is correct, only 1,500 were left. Now, better troops than those of Santa Aña do not often capture forts with a loss of four-fifths or even two-fifths of their total. Alas! how we have underrated Mexican bravery.

It is not true, as the writer I criticise has been led to believe, that Santa Aña's columns of attack while moving up were swept through by showers of grape and canister, and repeatedly repulsed. Had they suffered thus they would never have got in. Favored by darkness just before dawn, they reached the foot of the works, or points near them, with moderate loss. Then one column which assaulted the chapel was severely repulsed; but the other two columns, though staggered, soon entered the area, and the repulsed column was in a short time rallied and led in also. The main conflict occurred inside, where a long barrack proved to be the citadel while the extensive weak walls were merely the outworks. In an hour, or perhaps half an hour, after the area was entered,

all was over, and all the defenders butchered. The real loss of the assailants, as well as can be ascertained, was about 500 killed and wounded. This was a fifth of their number, showing that they fought as bravely on that occasion as in any conflict of their history.

In a fight of less than 200 against more than 2,000, when the former know they have all got to die, the bravest fall first; and the last reached is certain to be a sneak. Thus it was at the Alamo. Travis and Crocket fell early on the outworks. The last reached was a small group of skulkers, dragged from a hiding-place, half an hour after the action was over, and immediately shot. Travis was found with a single shot in his forehead on a one-gun platform in the north-west angle of the area. Crocket was found dead on a one-gun battery which overtopped the center of the west wall of the area. Incidents are often related as occurring in the Alamo, which, from the nature of the case, could have found no place there. In that hurried rush of massacre no ruffian stopped to mutilate a fallen hero. There was no time for that; and the fallen man, if already shot through the brain, would hardly be able to impale an assailant on his sword. No defender, even at the close, had time or opportunity to count out money for his life. Had he attempted this the money would have been accepted at sight, with no other voucher than a stab. In a massacre where all the defenders fall, and the assailants are too busy to take notes, and too excited for minute memory, we must not look for much preservation of personal incident. All that we really know about the exit of

the heroes is that they were found dead. The last blow, and last word, and last look of each of them is lost to history; and all which claims to fill the gap, like the last curl of Crocket's lip, is idle fabrication.

The article I am commenting on relates, as one of the conflicting stories worth repeating, on the authority of a nameless Mexican soldier, that Travis and Crocket were the last defenders killed, being found lying exhausted but unwounded among the dead, and shot by order of Santa Aña. This infamous fiction confounds them with the group of skulkers already referred to, and ought never to have been cited, even as a rumor, in any matter which claims to be historical. The writer makes one omission for which he deserves thanks. He says nothing about Crocket's destructive gun-barrel.

As I have cast a reflection on my former fellow-citizen of the Republic of Texas, Francisco Ruiz, I feel bound to close with saying what I can in his favor. He is the son of an illustrious and truthful patriot, one of the signers of our Declaration of Independence; and I never knew the son to tell a tough story except that of Santa Aña's loss at the Alamo. But he knew that our brethren of the new Republic loved to be glorified; and he was kindly willing to gratify them.

For my sources of knowledge and reasons for belief of what is set forth in this communication, I refer the reader to an essay of mine, entitled "The Fall of the Alamo," in the *Magazine of American History* for January, 1878, Vol. II., No. 1.

REUBEN M. POTTER, U. S. A.

"ABOUT A SWORD" [xv. 615]—E. Everett Davis desires information concerning a sword made for General Worth. Mr. P. A. Hargons, of 120 Broadway, New York (Equitable Building), can probably put him on track of what he desires. A member of the Hargon family, now living in New York, served upon General Worth's staff throughout the Mexican War, and will be likely to know something about the sword.

A. B. C.

DID WASHINGTON LAUGH? [xi. 80]—In reply to an observation by the writer's father that Washington was said never to have laughed, General Blake (who had been a captain in the Revolutionary army) replied, "that it is a mistake, for I saw him laugh heartily at Valley Forge. When the trees were first cut down for that encampment the stumps were left the usual height. To clear them from the parade-ground an order was issued that every officer or private who got drunk should be punished by cutting away a stump; thus they did not last long. One morning while making his usual personal tour of the camp, accompanied by several officers, of whom I was one, Washington came upon a soldier cutting at the only remaining stump, and said to him, 'Well, my good fellow, you have found the last stump.' 'Yes,' replied the man, without looking up or stopping his work. 'Now, when an officer gets drunk there'll be no stump for him to cut!' The 'immortal George' laughed heartily, and some of the officers felt a sensation of great relief."

W. J. BLAKE

CARMEL, NEW YORK

SOCIETIES

THE HOLLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK held its annual meeting on Pinkster-Tuesday. Many well-known men were present. Judge Hooper C. Van Vorst was elected President, and Hooper C. Van Vorst, George W. Van Slyck, Abraham Van Santvoord, William M. Hoes, and Alexander T. Van Nest Trustees. The other officers elected were: Secretary, George West Van Siclen; Treasurer, Abraham Van Santvoord; Vice-Presidents—for New York City, Robert Barnwell Roosevelt; Brooklyn, Adrian Van Sinderen; Jersey City, Theodore Romeyn Varick, M.D.; Albany, Albert Vander Veer, M.D.; Kingston, Alphonso Trumpbour Clearwater; Kinderhook, Aaron J. Vanderpoel; Rockland County, Garrett Van Nostrand; Westchester County, the Rev. Charles Knapp Clearwater; Catskill, the Rev. Evert Van Slyke, D.D.; Schenectady, James Van Voast; Amsterdam, Walter L. Van Denbergh; Newtown, John E. Van Nostrand; New Brunswick, the Rev. William Hoffman Ten Eyck; Bergen County, N. J., George Frederick Schermerhorn; Passaic County, N. J., Martin John Ryerson. The society decided to visit Esopus next October and listen to an oration by George H. Sharpe in the old Dutch Church at Kingston, taking a special train to Pine Hill and back. The society has grown in one year to a membership of over 250. To be a member one must be descended in direct male line from a settler who came here speaking Dutch as his native tongue prior to 1675.

THE LINNEAN SOCIETY met in the

anteroom of its museum in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on Saturday afternoon, June 26, at three o'clock, and, in the absence of the President, J. B. Kevinski occupied the chair. The donations to the museum consisted of two male and one female specimens, also one specimen of the larvæ of *Dynastes tityus*, a Coleopterous insect, from North Carolina, donated by W. P. King, resident there. The donations to the library consisted of a pamphlet on "Insects affecting the Orange;" "Archetypal Consummation," 1846; Smithsonian Report for 1884; Bulletin of Washburne Laboratory of Natural Sciences; Academy Natural Science Proceedings of January to March, 1886; several pamphlets on Alaska; Buffalo Historical Society report for 1885; current numbers of the United States Patent Office Gazette; numerous pamphlets, prospectuses and specimen numbers of scientific journals and catalogues. Mrs. S. P. Eby donated a mounted specimen of *Cypripedium Acaule* to the herbarium. Miss Le Fevre distributed some seeds of the custard apple, from Burmah, among the members for growing. Dr. S. S. Rathvon read a paper on the "Duck-billed Platypus," and one on the "*Dynastes tityus*," donated by W. P. King. Dr. T. R. Baker also read a paper on "Chemical Examinations of Our Kerosene Oils."

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The quarterly meeting was held on the evening of July 6, at the cabinet. President Gammell occupied the chair. The first business that came before the

meeting was the reading of communications received during the past quarter, namely, those from General Ebenezer W. Pierce, J. Hammond Trumbull, B. F. Stevens, Senators Aldrich and Chace, ex-Governor Elisha Dyer two, one in regard to the death of Hon. John R. Bartlett, the other concerning a proposed collection and preservation of Indian names.

An address was delivered by Rev. Crawford Nightingale, on the subject of the Nightingale family. He dwelt especially on the importance of the family in history and the national life. He compared the family in this respect with the thread in the manufacture of cloth, which is made up of the fibres, as the family is made up of the individual. He traced the family from the original Samuel Nightingale, in Braintree, Massachusetts, a Harvard graduate of 1734, who removed to Providence.

A paper by Mr. J. O. Austin, entitled "Some Phases of Genealogical Study," was then read by the President. It consisted of an analysis of the characteristics of genealogical research, and the qualities required in the prosecution.

ARYAN ORDER OF AMERICA—The summer meeting of the Aryan Order of America was held July 10th to 12th at the Mar estate, Scarborough, Maine. Frederic Gregory Forsyth presided, and opened with resolutions of sympathy for the Comte de Paris, which was duly inscribed. The line of membership now stands as follows: I. For Americans of royal descent; II., for Americans having titles of European nobility or knighthood conferred for merit. The prescriptive right to future membership is to all those descended from past members.

The book entitled "Americans of Royal Descent," by Browning, was criticized as containing several errors, and not as complete as it might be; but as a first effort in this line by an American it was esteemed worthy of praise. The following were appointed to the supreme council: Sir Edward Warren, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Paris, France; General John B. Gordon, Atlanta, Ga.; Colonel C. C. Jones, jr., LL.D., Augusta, Ga.; William J. Ritter, Esq., Baltimore, Md. Frederic Gregory Forsyth, of Portland, was re-elected the Herald-Marshal of the Order.

BOOK NOTICES

MEMOIRS OF GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN. 2 volumes. Second edition, revised and corrected. 8vo, pp. 455 and 570. New York, 1886: D. APPLETON & Co.

It is ten years since the first edition of this work was issued, and now the second appears with two additional chapters, appendices, an index, and some excellent maps and portraits. The frontispiece is a good steel portrait of General Sherman as he looks at the present time. A special feature of this new edition is an account of his ancestors, with a brief outline of his own personal history from 1820 to the Mexican war, where the former edition, now repaged, began. But the added chapter at the end of the second volume, entitled "After the War," is by far the most important of the fresh material. In it we have the author's testimony as to the controversies between President Johnson and others, which resulted in the impeachment trial, including the attempt to get Grant out of the way by sending him on a mission to Mexico, the work of the Indian Peace Commission of 1867, and Sherman's assumption of the command of the army, and his attempt to re-adjust the relations of the commanding general to the War Department. It also furnishes the correspondence between Johnson and Sherman, in which the latter declined the brevet rank of general and successfully objected to the assignment to a new command in the East, with headquarters at Washington, which President Johnson had arranged for him. Sherman said his presence at Washington under such circumstances would be construed as making him a rival to Grant for the President's purposes, whereas in case of any difference arising to cloud their long friendship he should resign at once.

General Sherman's reminiscences of Washington city as a dwelling-place are by no means cheerful. During the Johnson troubles he thought of resigning and trying civil life, but "hard times and an expensive family" made him forbear. However, he saw Washington grow from a straggling, ill-paved city to one of the most attractive in the world. Of General Thomas, Sherman writes: "We had been intimately associated as man and boy for thirty odd years, and I profess to have had better opportunities to know him than any man then living. His fame as the 'Rock of Chickamauga' was perfect, and by the world at large he was considered as the embodiment of strength, calmness, and imperturbability. Yet, of all my acquaintances, Thomas worried and fretted over what he construed neglects or acts of favoritism more than any other." He was especially worried

by what he considered the injustice of promoting Sheridan.

In view of the critical studies and writings of eminent men during the last ten years, and the better light afforded them through increased facilities for the examination and comparison of official documents on both sides, we are disappointed to find the revision and correction of the first edition so slight. The statements made ten years ago concerning the battle of Shiloh are repeated in spite of the general disbelief in that version of the affair. It would have been wise, to say the least, if General Sherman had explained certain situations and modified certain assertions.

LAND, LABOR, AND LAW. A SEARCH FOR THE MISSING WEALTH OF THE WORKING POOR. By WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS. 8vo, pp. 468. New York, 1886: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

The author of this treatise, Hon. W. A. Phillips, has been a land-owner as well as an active member of the Committee on Public Lands in the Forty-third Congress, and of banking and currency in the Forty-fifth. He was prominent in the formation of the institutions of Kansas, and has had large practical experience in public affairs. He has given much study to the relations of property and to the early history of land tenures. The result is before us—a work that is worth the widest reading, and one that no student of political economy can afford to miss. Mr. Phillips says, "Men have a slavish disposition to respect precedents without stopping to scrutinize the circumstances on which they were founded, or to remember that for much of what is good in modern society we are indebted to innovation. Systems and principles must be considered in so far as they affect governments and men. Cool, calculating selfishness may be deemed the best balance-wheel of society, but experience shows us that it brings communities into a condition when organized benevolence or revolution are indispensable." Facts in regard to the political and social system of ancient Israel, the systems of land and labor in ancient empires, the condition of labor and land in the Middle Ages, the Christian system as its principles affect society and organized government, the Mahometan system and the governments and forms of society founded on it, land and labor in Russia and Asiatic countries, the land systems of modern Europe and of the British empire, the aboriginal American system of land tenure, and the history of the land polity of the United States, have

been collated with painstaking care, and presented in these pages in order to throw all possible light on the grave and important subject as it appears to-day. Slavery, vassalage, serfdom, and the various modes of employing and remunerating or robbing labor have been traced, together with the change from master workman to capitalist employer, the organization of capital, the formation and growth of guilds, trades unions, and labor societies. The author says, "the social and communistic organizations in the United States are interesting not only as experiments but as evidences that those who felt the defects of the present forms of society were seeking a remedy." He has referred to these chiefly, however, to exhibit the conflicting ideas about social organizations. "On the one hand, individualism with its extreme assumptions; on the other, society as entirely submerging the individual. The civilization we are founding is based on the most absolute assertion of the independence of the individual. But it errs fatally when this individualism assumes to be supreme. There is a field for the individual and a field for the action of society. The individual cannot be allowed a monopoly of any of the rights of nature. It is with the duties as well as the privileges of the individual we have to do." Mr. Phillips claims that it is in the power of the people to correct the errors of the past, and shape the avenues to the great natural resources of our country, that they may be within reach of all, giving an equality of privilege and an equality of opportunity. He further says: "Not until Christianity fully pervades our business and social system, and the doctrine of charity and brotherly love it preaches are accepted, can it overthrow the dominion of selfishness, avarice, and dishonest bargains."

MASSACRES OF THE MOUNTAINS. A

History of the Indian Wars of the Far West.

By J. P. DUNN, Jr., M.S., LL.B. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 783. New York, 1886: Harper & Brothers.

The author of this volume has evidently made a conscientious study of the harrowing events connected with the several Indian wars in the far West, from our first occupation of the country to the present time. He does more than recite the facts; he presents in living colors the various and vacillating policies of the national government during its formative period in western history. Of much more value, however, than individual opinion as to the latter course to be pursued in the management of Indian affairs, are Mr. Dunn's graphic descriptions of the horrors of frontier life, based upon official reports and other authoritative publications. He deals with facts gleaned from a great variety of sources, and the reader may com-

prehend the situation, and draw his own conclusions. "The acquisition of the Mountains" is a chapter of thrilling interest. The story has been often told, and will bear a thousand repetitions. The romantic wedding journey of Dr. Whitman, and his subsequent return for settlers to hold Oregon, are passed over lightly; but nearly forty pages are devoted to the painful narrative, in detail, of the subsequent "murder of the missionaries" at Walla Walla. If possible the account of the "Mountain Meadows" massacre, which forms the subject of Chapter X, is even more distressing and revolting. In this painful bit of history the Mormons had a part which earned for them the unenviable reputation, so tersely expressed by Mr. Dunn, "that Mormon declarations and oaths are worth less than the breath in which they are uttered, or the paper on which they are written." The author dwells at considerable length upon the troubles with the Apaches. He says, "the Apaches cannot be driven about like cattle." He thinks that if there is an attempt to remove them from Arizona there will be a terrible war. On the other hand, should they be treated fairly, he predicts that these "demons of the past may develop into a quiet, self-sustaining people." The "Tragedy of the Lava Beds" occupies the seventeenth chapter. The author tells us that the Modocs leaped into notoriety more suddenly than any other tribe of American Indians. "They were a peculiar people, good-natured as a rule, but high-tempered; industrious, and yet as haughty as the laziest Indians on the continent." The Modoc war was caused by keeping that tribe on a reservation with the Kinmaths who maltreated them so that they could not raise food. The book is profusely illustrated with portraits, sketches of scenes and scenery, maps of special value, and many other things pertinent to the narrative. It is handsomely printed and bound, and contains a mass of trustworthy information not elsewhere existing in condensed and available form—either for interested perusal or ready reference.

THE WILDERNESS ROAD. By THOMAS SPEED. [Filson Club Publications. Number Two]. Large quarto, pp. 75. Louisville, Ky., 1886: John P. Morton & Co.

Nearly two years ago, we had the pleasure of noticing the first monograph issued by the Filson Club, a handsome quarto, written by Mr. R. T. Durrett. The second of the series comprehends an account of the famous Wilderness Road and the routes by which the first settlers journeyed into Kentucky, written by Mr. Thomas Speed, a descendant of Thomas Speed, one of those same brave pioneers. It is well written in a direct and clear style, and is issued in the same elegant and at-

tractive form as its predecessor. It is emphatically a book of adventure, showing how the people who had heard of this inviting land beyond the mountains reached it in the face of innumerable obstacles, and planted a new civilization in the wilderness. The Virginia mountains, stretching from north-east to south-west, were impassable to pack-horses, or even hunters. The road followed the trough that lay between the mountains until the traveler came out into the valley south of Cumberland Gap. Thence the wilderness road lay across the streams and hills north-west to Hazel Patch, St. Asaph, and Boonesboro. It was this roundabout way that men passed to and from Kentucky. Measured along it, the distance from Philadelphia to the Falls of the Ohio was more than eight hundred miles, and described a bold curve like a half circle. Yet for many years it was the only safe and practicable route. To those who like to observe the beginning of things, this work is more interesting than a novel. It cannot fail to be of priceless value to every Kentuckian and to all others whose families are identified with the settlement of this State. An excellent map illustrates the distance this Kentucky civilization was from the East. A wilderness three hundred miles in extent separated it from the nearest inhabited country.

THE LIFE OF ADMIRAL SIR ISAAC COFFIN, BARONET. His English and American Ancestors. By THOMAS C. AMORY, 8vo, pp. 141. Boston, 1836. Cupples, Upham & Co.

"The name of Coffin is so widely spread over our continent, so many thousands of men and women of other patronymics take pride in their descent from Tristram, its first American patriarch, that what concerns them all, any considerable branch or distinguished individual of the race, seems rather history than biography," writes the scholarly author of this interesting volume in introducing his subject to the reader. "Sir Isaac was too remarkable a man to pass into oblivion. His long life, commencing in 1759 in Boston, and ending eighty years later in Cheltenham, England, was crowded with events, many of historic importance. By his native vigor, doughty deeds, and eminent services, he rose to distinguished rank in the British navy, became captain of a line-of-battle-ship at the age of twenty-two, and was created a baronet at the age of forty-four. This not from large means, family influence, or court favor, but that his character and conduct afloat and ashore entitled him to such preferment. Throngs of heroic officers won glory in the same wars that he did, attracted attention by more conspicuous achievements; but his fearless daring, zeal, and ability, and what he accomplished, inscribes his

memory high up on the roll of honor, if not on the scroll of fame." The Boston Coffins were all loyal to the crown; Isaac, at the age of fourteen, entered the Royal Navy. The chapters of the book in which Mr. Amory sketches the early life of Sir Isaac Coffin in Boston, and his subsequent career upon the ocean and in England, are brightened with anecdote and presented in the most felicitous style. The reader, as he turns the pages, can almost see the British admiral in the flesh, "tall, erect, with rich color in his cheeks and merry sparkle in his eye, brimming over with animal spirits, companionable, and with fitting chat for all. His funny words and ways were the delight and dread of the children, into whose frolics he entered with zest, bewildering their minds with his drolleries, both they and himself exploding with merriment at practical jokes too good-natured to offend;" or later in life when, Mr. Amory says, "I remember well weeks passed under the same roof with him when preparing for my college examinations. The family were in the country, and he was tied by the foot to his couch by the gout. But from morning till night, droll stories, amusing incidents, whimsies and oddities of every description, exploded like fire-works from the aged man's pillow."

The genealogical information which the book contains makes it specially valuable to all who have any connection with the Coffin family. But aside from that feature of the work, the graphic history of an American who rose to distinction in a foreign land solely through his own merits, and led such a stirring and eventful life, deserves not only a general reading, but a permanent place in our literature.

THE REAR-GUARD OF THE REVOLUTION. By EDMUND KIRKE, author of "Among the Pines," "Down in Tennessee," etc., 12mo, pp. 317. New York, 1886. D. Appleton & Co.

Like many other writers, Mr. James Roberts Gilmore is better known as Edmund Kirke than by his own proper name. His former books have dealt with realistic local descriptions of the picturesque regions that have recently occupied so large a place in literature—namely the Southern mountains. In the "Rear-Guard of the Revolution" he introduces a historical element. We wish that it were possible to say that he has done so with entire success, but truth compels the admission that it is with a shade of disappointment that we find his "Rear-Guard" is not a rear-guard at all, but an independent command partaking more of the nature of partisan rangers or "bushwhackers" than of the stern resolution and discipline that should characterize the rear-guard of an army. Let that pass, however—there are those who think that to be at-

tractive a title should always be misleading. The volume deals with the wonderful achievements of that brave band of frontiersmen who, under the leadership of John Sevier, Cleveland, Campbell, and the rest crossed the Smoky Mountains into North Carolina, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the British under Ferguson. Prior to this, however, he reviews the whole romantic story of early colonial times in the wild region explored by Daniel Boone and settled by his fellows. A historian without imagination would be a flat failure, but a peculiar kind of imagination is requisite to insure success. To our thinking, Mr. Gilmore's rather runs away with him when he says (p. 254) that "the little mountain was now everywhere in eruption, belching forth smoke, lightning, and thunder. One long sulphureous blaze encircled and flashed everywhere along it, from base to summit." Surely the more correct form "sulphurous" would have done just as well, not to carry the criticism farther in a literary point of view. A fine portrait of John Sevier serves as a frontispiece, and if the reader will disabuse his mind of the idea of history, the volume will be found highly interesting and suggestively instructive.

MICHIGAN PIONEER COLLECTIONS.

Report of the Pioneer Society of State of Michigan. Vols. v., vi., vii. 8vo, pp. 614, 571, and 709. Published respectively in 1884, 1885, 1886

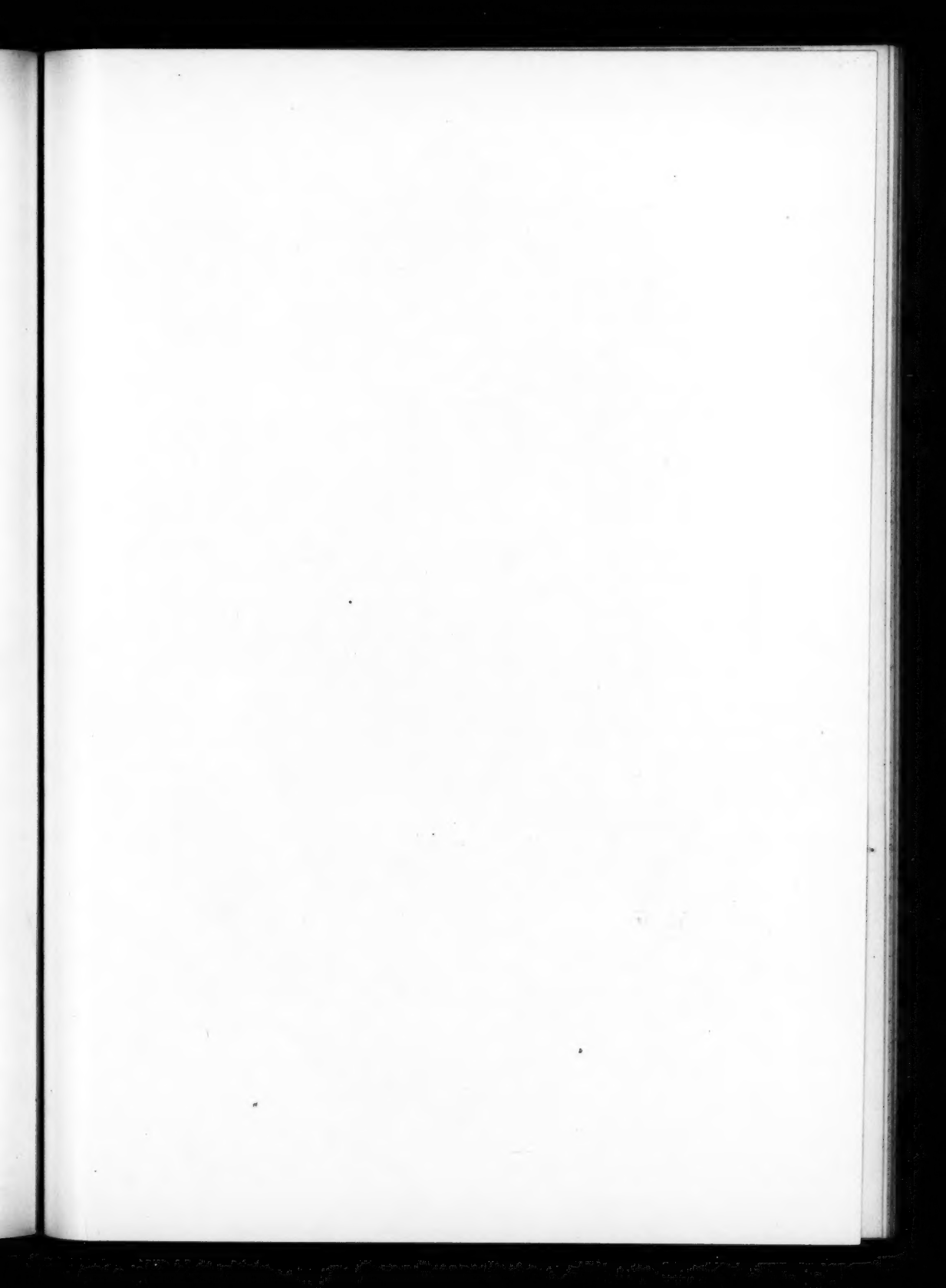
The fifth volume of this excellent series of publications opens with the address of President John E. Holmes before the annual meeting of the society in June, 1882. The reports of the officers for the year follows, and then we have a series of papers of curious interest, as, for instance, "The Growth and Progress of Michigan," by Senator Ferry; "Early Recollections," by William C. Hoyt; "Michigan Past and Present," by Dr. Alger; "Kaskaskia," by E. S. Mason; "The Wild-Cat Banking System of Michigan," by H. M. Utley; and the "History of the Black Hawk War," by Henry Little. There are numerous biographical and memorial sketches, of which "The Life and Times of William A. Burt, of Mount Vernon, Michigan," was read at the annual meeting, by Scott Cannon. This Mr. Burt was in the autumn of 1826 elected a member of the territorial legislature, Lewis Cass being then the territorial governor. He built the Dexter Mills at a place of that name some nine miles west of Ann Arbor. "In order to reach there a team and wagon were necessary to convey his tool-chest and effects across the country. A neighbor was engaged for that purpose, and it is worthy of note that among the *essential articles* for the outfit was a *barrel of whiskey*."

The sixth volume chronicles the proceedings

of the annual meeting in 1883, which was first addressed by its president, Hon. C. I. Walker of Detroit. He said, "It is not ten years since this society was organized. Its object, as stated in the articles of association, was to preserve historical, biographical, and other information in relation to the State of Michigan. It has within this time fully shown its right to exist by its works. It has gathered a large amount of valuable material illustrative of the history, condition, and resources of the State, much of which would otherwise have been hopelessly lost. The legislature has shown its confidence by making appropriations to facilitate the publication of our collections, and there is no other organization engaged in the work." The contributions to this volume include the paper read at this annual meeting by the Rev. George Taylor, describing his "First visit to Michigan," in the month of July, 1837. "A History of the Press in Michigan" is a work of great value; and sketches of the Hillsdale College, the State Agricultural College, and Monroe County are invaluable. In the second paper on Monroe, read by Talcott E. Wing, an interesting incident is related of Dr. Horatio Conant, who settled at Maumee in 1816, and was for a half century known as the oldest justice in Ohio. He was first appointed by Governor Cass. "In 1819, Seneca Allen held a commission from the governor of Ohio as justice of the peace, with jurisdiction over the same disputed territory, and notified Dr. Conant that he must not attempt to do any business under his commission from the governor of Michigan. But Allen, in December, 1819, had an engagement to marry a couple on the north or Maumee side of the river. The river was high, full of running ice, and very unsafe to cross. Conant lived near the bank of the river on the Maumee side, Allen near the bank on the Perrysburg side and nearly opposite. Allen, finding it impracticable to cross to fill his engagement, called to Dr. Conant across the river and requested him to marry the couple. The doctor reminded Allen of his former prohibition under his commission; but Allen insisted, on the ground that *necessity* knew no law. Dr. Conant married the couple, and received for his marriage fee a jackknife."

In the seventh volume one of the most interesting chapters relates to "the Saginaw Valley," written by Judge Albert Miller, the first President of the Pioneer Society of Michigan. He describes his journey from Vermont to the Far West in 1840, where he went to seek his fortune. He went north from Detroit, searching for good land, which he found in Saginaw, and soon after settled there. His descriptions of early life in the wilderness are extremely readable. Its dangers, amusements, characters, and incidents are pictured with much spirit; and road-making, serenades by the wolves, early fruit-growing, the courts, and progress in general are discussed.

The work is well illustrated.





MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVI

SEPTEMBER, 1886

No. 3

AN ILLUSTRATED CHAPTER OF BEGINNINGS

THE FOUNDER, PRESIDENTS, HOMES, AND TREASURES
OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FEW subjects as important are less familiar to the average American citizen of to-day than the origin and development of historical societies in this country. These peculiar institutions have multiplied with marvelous rapidity during the past few years, and now exist in nearly every State and chief city of the Union, in many of the counties and towns, at the principal seats of learning, in the colleges and some of the schools, and in clubs and social circles throughout the land. Yet how many are there in any of our intelligent communities who can define the source from which they originally sprung? It is well known that the awakening of general interest in historic inquiry is of comparatively recent date. Formerly, men only of exceptional learning and large wealth worked, or could afford to work, for the preservation of historic material. Whatever was rich and rare and delightful fell into the superb collections of the few. The general public were treated to the crumbs, and professional writers, without time or opportunity for research, went on from year to year repeating each other's errors, and furnishing misinformation greatly in excess of the demand. But the movement of the human mind, taken collectively, is invariably toward something better. The gems of private collections gradually drifted into these historical museums, of which the world knew so little, and which, with magnificent accumulations of instructive material, are now made accessible to all students of history. Authors of every grade have thus found their possibilities enlarged, and inspiration has been given to a new race of historians. The present of any period illustrates nothing of its own significance—any more than the individual brick shows the architecture of the house of which it is a part. It has become the fashion to be wise, and yet no wisdom is satisfactory without familiarity with past events. The old-time notion that America has no history worth bothering about disappears in the fresh, clear light. The scholar must understand his own country. There is no longer any pardon for him if he does not. And as to the journalist who would guide

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